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VOL. VIII.

PRINTED FOR
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CAPE COLONY.
1902.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E., AND GREAT WINDMILL STREET, W.

DT
740
R42
1898
v. 8

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TRATADO
DO SVCESSO QVE TEVE
A NAO S. JOAÕ BAPTISTA,

E JORNADA QUE FEZ A GENTE QUE DELLA ESCAPOU,
DESDE TRINTA E TRES GRAOS NO CABO DE BOA
ESPERANÇA, ONDE FEZ NAUFRAGIO, ATÈ
SOFALA, VINDO SEMPRE MARCHANDO
POR TERRA.

POR
FRANCISCO VAZ DALMADA.

A DIOGO SOARES SECRETARIO DO CONSELHO DA
FAZENDA DE SUA Magestade, &c.

EM LISBOA; ANNO 1625.

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NAUFRAGIO

Da Nao S. Joaõ Baptista no Cabo de Boa Esperança no anno de 1622.

Em o primeyro dia de Março de seis centos & vinte dous, partimos da barra de Goa a Náo Capitania, de que era Capitaõ mòr Nuno Alvares Botelho, & a Náo São Joaõ, de que era Capitaõ Pero de Moraes Sarmêto, & depois de termos navegado quinze, ou vinte dias indo-se ver a bomba se acháraõ nella quatorze, ou quinze palmos de agua, & tratando de a esgotar, não foy possivel, porque eraõ pequenas as bombas, que a Náo trazia, por serem feytas para hum Galeaõ, de maneyra que as desfizeraõ, & acrescentáraõ, & nunca pode servir mais que hũa; & com barris fazendo baldes delles a puzemos em estado de quatro palmos, & fomos fazendo nossa viagem com grandes calmarias atè vinte cinco graos, que dahi por diante tivemos notaveis frios.

A dezasete de Julho nos apartamos da Náo Capitania de noyte por se lhe não ver o forol: outros dizem, que porque o quizeriaõ fazer os officiaes. De mim sey dizer a V. M. como quem perdia tanto em perder a companhia do Capitaõ mòr, que toda a noyte vigiey, & que nunca o vi.

Em dezanove de Julho hum Domingo pela manhã em trinta & cinco graos & meyo largos vimos por nossa proa duas Náos Olandezas, & logo nos fizemos prestes, pondo a Náo em armas, o que nos custou muyto trabalho por estar empachada; de maneyra que ainda aquella tarde lhe demos duas cargas, & fomos brigando com estas duas Náos, entrincheyrandonos com fardos de liberdade, & foy este grande remedio, porque dalli por diante matàraõ muy pouca gente, sendo assim que nos primeyros dous dias que não tinhamos feyto esta diligencia nos matàraõ vinte homens, atè altura de quarenta & dous graos em espaço de dezanove dias, dos

quaes só nove brigáraõ com nosco de Sol a Sol cada dia, & nos puzeraõ em o mais miseravel estado que se pòde imaginar, porque nos quebráraõ o gouropès pelos cabrestos com bombardadas, & o mastro grande dous covados por cima dos tambores, & o traquete, & o leme, posto que era velho, que tinha sido de hũa Náo, que em Goa se desfez, & havia dous annos, que estava deytado na praya, & já podre, que desta maneyra se costumaõ haviar as Naos nesta terra. Digo istò, porque o não termos leme foy causa de nossa distruição, porque vinha elle tal, que só duas bombardadas bastáraõ para o fazer em pedaços. E não foy esta só a falta, com que esta Náo partio de Goa, porque não trouxe munições, nem polvora bastante para poder brigar, trazendo só dezoyto peças do artilharia de muy pequena bala, & com serem estas, brigamos atè nos não ficarem mais que dous barris de polvora, & vinte oyto cartuxos.

Vendo-se que a Náo não tinha arvore nenhũa, & as antenas de sobrecellente todas cheas de pelouradas, que a que tinha menos tinha nove, & a Náo indo-se ao fundo com agua, porque nos fundiáraõ a pelouradas por huma braça debayxo d'agua; & o leme quando quebrou levou duas femeas comsigo, abrindo os buracos das cavilhas das mesmas femeas, de modo que nos hiamos apique ao fundo sem podermos vencer a agua, nem se ter esperança de remedio algum dando de noyte, & de dia à bomba, & gamotes todo genero de pessoa, tratáraõ os Religiosos de haver algum concerto de modo que se entretivessem os inimigos, para que entretanto vissemos se podiamos vencer a agua, & tapar alguns buracos. E para isso me pediraõ quizesse eu ser huma das pessoas, que tratasse com os Olandezes hum concerto honrado, sobre o que tive algũas razões com elles, & disse, que quem queria o tal concerto, que fosse lá, & que não eraõ meus amigos, pois tal me aconselhavaõ, & me fuy meter na estancia, de que o Capitão me encarregou, de maneyra, que não vi batel a bordo, nem Olandezes, ficando odiado com muyta gente da Náo. Depois pediraõ a Luis d'Afonseca, & a Manoel Peres quizessem ir fazer este contrato, os quaes foraõ, & as tormentas foraõ tão grandes, & continuas, que não vimos mais a Náo para onde estes dous homẽs foraõ. A outra nos foy seguindo sem nos querer abalroar, & mãdou saber pelo batel se viramos a outra sua Náo, porq̃ tinha desapparecido della, & pela muyta agua, que de continuo faziamos estando desaparelhados, & faltos de todo o remedio,

veyo saber, que determinação era a nossa, & estando toda a gente muy miseravel, & desconfiada lhe dissemos, que não sabiamos da Náo, & com esta reposta se tornou o batel para donde viera, estando nós cada vez mais desconsolados, porque padeciamos as mais notaveis tormentas, & frios, que os homêes viraõ, chovendo neve muytas vezes, de maneyra que morrêraõ muytos escravos com os frios, os quaes nos fazião muyta falta pelo remedio da bomba, & alijar ao mar, o que tudo faziamos continuamente, & com trabalho por as tormentas, & balanços da Náo não darem lugar a que se acendessem os fogões, que era causa destes trabalhos nos ficarem sendo muyto mayores. Estando neste estado fizemos hũa bandola do mastro da mezena, & a puzemos na proa, & o botalò por goroupes, & hiamos para onde o vento nos levava, de maneyra que muytas vezes era o vento bom para virmos para terra, & a Náo tomava na volta do mar, que como não tinha leme, nem governo, andava de lò para onde o vento a levava. Isto tudo aconteeceo andando em quarenta & dous graos, & vindo-nos sempre seguindo esta derradeyra Náo. E hũa noyte sendo com ella na volta do mar, por ser grande o escuro, & a tormenta, amaynamos a bandola, pedindo à Virgem da Conceyção, que permitisse a Náo tomasse na volta da terra, ficando apartados da que nos seguia: E assim socedeo, porque amanhecemos na volta da terra, na qual fomos muytos dias. As Náos Olandezas pelo que agora soubemos nos foraõ buscar na volta do mar atè altura de quarenta & seis graos: là se deve contar o estado, em que chegáraõ a Zacotorá.

A nós, como tenho dito nos pareceo tinhamos mais remedio apartandonos das Náos pelas continuas tormentas, & buracos, que de novo se abriaõ, & por a gente vir toda desmayada com os trabalhos, & além deste, que digo acudiaõ a hum leme, que no convès se fez, o qual o carpinteyro da viagem meteo em cabeça ao Capitaõ, que em tal altura, & com taes tempos o havia de meter, sendo assim, que muytas vezes deyxão as embarcações de o meter estando em bahias, & rios com qualquer alteração de tempo. O Capitaõ Pero de Moraes como não era muy experimentado, supposto que valente, não quiz tomar parecer dos officiaes da Náo, nem das pessoas, que nella hiaõ de mais experiencia, & seguio o de hum vilaõ pertinaz, não querendo usar do remedio de espadellas, que foy sempre o que as Náos costumáraõ faltandolhe leme. E por derradeyro nunca este leme se pode

meter, andando quinze dias amarrado pela popa, aguardando, que tivessemos alguma quietação para o poder meter; & quebrandonos os viradores, com que estava amarrado o perdemos hũa noyte, & tivemos, que fora mercè de Deos, porque nos quebrava a Náo com as continuas pancadas, que sempre estava dando.

Em quanto se isto fazia, esperavamos cada hora nos fossemos ao fundo, & não tínhamos já mais esperanças, que da salvação das almas. Os Religiosos, que nesta Náo hiaõ, exhortavaõ as mais pessoas fizessem penitencia de seus peccados, fazendo prociçoës os mais dos dias, & disciplina da qual senão escusava pequeno, nem grande, antes todos assistiaõ com muytas lagrimas. El tivemos todos nestas miserias, que fora castigo de Deos apartarem-se as Náos inimigas de nós; porque tínhamos por cousa nunca acontecida vir hũa Náo sem leme, nem vellas de taõ longe em partes taõ tormentosas a porto algum. No que se vio ser manifestamente milagre da Virgem, como acima digo.

Depois que o leme desapareceo se fizeraõ duas espadellas muyto bem feytas dos pedaços dos mastros, & goroupes, que ficáraõ metidos na Náo, & se pòde affirmar, que não houve remedio algum humano, que senão usasse, que como cada hum tratava de remediar a vida, era o trabalho geral de todos. Feytas as espadellas como não tinhaõ bandolas, nem paos de que as pudessem fazer, não hia a Náo despedida. Depois destes remedios todos ficou a Náo aos mares toda desfeyta, porque os inimigos desfizeraõ a mayor parte dos castellos, ficando os prègos, & a madeyra em rachas, & escadeada, & com os grandes balanços, que a Náo dava cahia a gente, & se feria, & por este respeyto se acabàraõ de cortar.

Acabando nesta confusão, & aperto, em vinte nove de Setembro fomos amanhecer duas legoas da terra em trinta & tres graos, & hum terço, & foy tamanha a alegria em todos como se fora a barra de Lisboa, não imaginando o muyto caminho, que tínhamos para andar, & os trabalhos, que nos aguardavaõ ao diante. Na briga da Náo não morrèraõ homens conhecidos, salvo João d'Andrade Caminha, & João de Lucena. Lopo de Sousa, que Deos tenha no Ceo, & o Capitão Vidanha assistiraõ no convès, donde pelejáraõ valerosamente, & ficou Lopo de Sousa ferido com tres dedos menos do pè esquerdo, & o pè quebrado todo, com hũa raxa em hum quadril, outra na barriga, outra no rosto, & duas na cabeça; & o Capitão

Vidanha com duas raxas, hũa na cabeça, & outra na barriga. No castello de proa assistio Thomè Coelho Dalmeyda, & da tolda do Capitão assistio Rodrigo Affonso de Mello; & eu nas peças do leme, aonde o inimigo mais frequentava, porque todas as vezes, que vinha dar carga, dava nas primeyras peças, tendo primeyro dado no goroupès por bayxo da varanda atirando ao leme. Não trato aqui do procedimento, que nesta tão comprida briga tivemos, nem o dano, que os Olandezes recebèraõ, porque espero, que elles proprios sejaõ os pregoeyros neste particular.

Aquelle dia não nos pudemos chegar a terra tanto como desejavamos para nella surgir, & desembarcar, mas ao outro pela manhã, que foy dia de S. Jeronymo amanhecemos mais abayxo, & mais juntos a terra, & como a Náo não tinha governo, tememos, que desvairasse indose para o mar. E porque nos pareceo hũa praya de area, & bom desembarcadouro (o que depois conhecemos não ser assim) surgimos em sete braças com duas ancoras. Mandou logo o Capitão a Rodrigo Affonso de Mello com quinze homens arcabuzeyros reconhecer a terra, & tomar bom sitio donde se defendesse a desembarcação; o que elle fez com muyto cuydado como fazia tudo, & nos mandou agua doce, & hervas cheyrosas, com que nos causou notavel alegria. E porque não fique caso notavel acontecido nesta viagem, quero contar a V. M. o seguinte.

Vinha nesta Náo hum homem por nome Manoel Domingues Guardiaõ della, ao qual o Capitão tinha posto no lugar de Mestre por elle ser morto. Este se fez tão soberbo, mal ensinado, & livre, que havia poucas pessoas com quem não houvesse tido historias. E como tinha a mayor parte da gente do mar por si, se desavergonhou de maneyra, que se foy ao Capitão, & lhe disse: V. M. pela manhã ha se de meter no batel com trinta homens, que para isso tenho escolhido, & havemos de levar com nosco toda a pedraria, & saltar em terra daqui a tres legoas onde mostra a carta hum areal, & havemos de atravessar essa Cafraria até o cabo das Correntes, porque assim indo só trinta pessoas escoteyras com suas armas poderemos chegar aonde digo, & tratar de ir com arrayal de mulheres, & mininos por terras tão fragosas, & caminhos tão longe, era fallar no ar. Pero de Moraes lhe respondeo não havia de fazer tal, que não queria que o castigasse Deos, & ã conta havia de dar ao mesmo Deos, & aos homens em commeter tal crueldade, & que não fallasse tão livre.

Elle respondeo, que quer quizesse, quer não quizesse o havia de tomar em braços, & botar no batel. Dissimulando o Capitão vendo o danado intento que este homem levava, & os muytos trabalhos, lastimas, & perdas que de tão mau conselho haviaõ de resultar, se deliberou ao matar, & assim o fez matando-o às facadas o segundo dia depois de estar a Náo surta, sem embargo, que o Mestre andava já de sobre aviso, cuja morte foy sentida de poucos, & festejada de muytos.

Depois se poz em terra o mantimento, & armas necessarias, ainda que foy com muyto trabalho; porque era a costa brava, de maneyra que todas as vezes, que o batel desembarcava algũa cousa antes que chegasse havia de surgir com hũa fateyxa pela popa, & haviaõ de saltar em terra tendo mão nelle, de modo que ficasse direyto posto às ondas, em tanto que hũa vez que não surgiraõ pela popa, se afogáraõ dezoyto pessoas ao desembarcar de hũa só batelada. Este foy o respeyto, porque depois se não tratou de fazer embarcação, porque he esta costa tão tormetosa, que se temeo, que depois de feyta se não podesse deytar ao mar.

Aos tres de Outubro estando nos acabando de desembarcar as cousas necessarias para a viagem da terra, & fazendo nossas choupanas, aonde nos pudessemos recolher dos grandes frios, que naquella paragem faz, o tempo, que alli podiamos estar, deraõ rebate os homêes que estavaõ de vigia, que vinhaõ negros. Tomámos armas, & elles se vieraõ chegando a nós, dando as azagayas, que traziaõ a seus filhos, atè que ficáraõ muyto pegados com nosco assentados em cocaras, tangendo as palmas, & assubiando mansamente, de modo que todos juntos faziaõ hum som concertado, & muytas mulheres, que com elles vinhaõ se puzeraõ a bailhar. Estes negros são mais brancos, que mulatos, homens corpulentos, & se disformaõ com as unturas de almagra, & carvão, & cinza, com que ordinariamente trazem o rosto pintado, sendo assim, que são bem afigurados. Trouxeraõ de Sagate esta primeyra vez hum boy capado grande, & feroso, & hum fole de leyte, & o Rey o apresentou a Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, que entaõ servia de Capitão por Pero de Moraes estar ainda na Náo. As cortesias, que este Rey fez ao Capitão, que digo, foraõ encayxarlhe a barba muytas vezes. E depois de nós lhe darmos o retorno do Sagate, que foraõ hũs pedaços de arcos de ferro, & huns bertangis, se foy o Rey ao boy, & o mandou abrir, estando vivo, pelo embigo, & elle

com a mór parte dos que trazia meteraõ as mãos no buxo do boy, que ainda estava vivo, & berrando, & se untáraõ todos com aquella bosta; & entendemos, que todas estas ceremonias faziaõ em fé, & sinal de amizade; & depois cortáraõ o boy, & nolo entregáraõ em quartos, tomando elles para si o couro, & as tripas, que logo comerão alli mesmo posto nas brazas.

Em hum mez, & seis dias, que alli estivemos se não pode entender nunca a esta gente palavra algũa, porque o seu fallar não he como de gente, & para qualquer cousa, que queriaõ dizer davão estralos com a boca, hum no principio, outro no meyo, & outro no cabo, de modo que se pòde dizer por estes: que nem a terra he toda huma, nem a gente quasi quasi.

Estando já entrincheyrados em terra, fizemos hũa Igreja cuberta com velas forrada toda por dentro de cobertores da China borlados de ouro, & de outras muytas peças ricas, de modo que toda estava consida em ouro, na qual se diziaõ tres Missás todos os dias, & nos confessamos, & comungamos todos. Ordenou o Capitão Pero de Moraes depois que os homens do mar disserão que se não podia fazer embarcação, se queymasse a Náo por os Cafres senão aproveytarem dos prégos, & nos ficar o resgate caro, & que a pedraria toda, que na Náo vinha, se metesse em hũa borçoleta nos proprios bisalhos, em que os homens, a quem se entregou a traziaõ mutrados, & tudo isto com papeis autenticos, dizendo, que pois o trabalho de a vir defendendo era de todos, que tambem parecia razaõ, que o galardão, & proveyto, que disto se tivesse, fosse de todos, cabendo lhe pro rata a cada hum conforme seus procedimentos, & lugar.

Neste tempo hiamos resgatando vacas, que comiamos, posto que não erãõ tantas quantas haviamos mister, & as que nos pareciaõ boas para trabalho as guardavamos em hum curral de estacada, que para isso fizemos, acostumando-as a andar com albardas, que para isso se fizerão de alcatifas muyto bem feytas, que não faltárão officiaes na companhia, que soubessem este officio. Eu neste tempo como cheguey a terra doente de gota, & mal de loanda, & vi o muyto caminho, que tinha para andar, tratey de fazer sahidas, tomando hũa espingarda a melhor de sete que trazia, & me andava à caça, hora para a banda do cabo de boa Esperança, hora para estoutro do cabo das Correntes, que como sou filho de caçador, & criado na caça, foy me isto de gosto, & proveyto, porque ao cabo de hum mez, & seis dias, que nesta

terra estivemos, fiquey taõ forte, & bem disposto, que posso dizer, que ninguem no arrayal vinha com melhor disposiçaõ que eu.

Aos seis de Novembro partimos desta terra de trinta & tres graos em hum arrayal formado, em que hiaõ duzentas setenta & nove pessoas repartidas em quatro estancias, de que erão Capitães Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, Thomè Coelho Dalmeyda, Antonio Godinho, & Sebastiaõ de Moraes. A companhia de Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, & de Sebastião de Moraes hia na dianteyra, o Capitão Pero de Moraes hia no meyo com a bagagê, & mulheres, & Thomè Coelho, & Antonio Godinho vinhaõ na retaguarda. Traziamos com nosco dezasete boys carregados com mantimentos, & cousas para o resgate necessarias, & quatro andores, em os quaes vinhaõ Lopo de Sousa, Beatriz Alvarez mulher de Luis d'Afonseca, D. Ursula mulher que foy de Domingos Cardoso de Mello, & a mãy de Dona Ursula. Este dia foy de muyta chuva, & como as cousas não hião ainda bem concertadas, andariamos hũa legoa, & assentamonos á borda de hum rio de agua doce, & tivemos roim noyte por chover sempre. Esta terra he toda cortada de rios de muy boa agua, & tem lenha, mas falta de fruita, & de mantimentos, sendo assim, que parece tal, que dará tudo o que nella se semear abundantemente. A gente que nella habita não se sustenta mais que de marisco, & de hũas raizes como tubaras da terra, & da caça. Não conhecem sementeyra algũa, nem outro modo de mantimento; & assim andão bem dispostos, & valentes, & fazem cousas notaveis de forças, & ligeyrezas, porque tomão a cosso hum touro, & o tem mão sendo elles os mais monstruosos animaes de grandes, que se podem imaginar.

Ao outro dia sete de Novembro fomos fazendo nosso caminho sempre pegado pela praya, & tendo andado obra de tres legoas, á tarde assentamos o arrayal à borda de hum rio, & puzemos nossas tendas em redondo, metendo de noyte as vacas no meyo, pondo nossas postas de vigia, & rondas com muyto cuydado, & vigilancia, mas não nos valeo isso para que os Cafres deyxassem de roubar todas as vacas, ainda que não foy muyto a seu salvo, porque como estes Cafres são grandes caçadores, trazem consigo seus cães de caça, & como estas vacas são criadas entre elles, & as vigiaõ dos tigres, & leões, que nesta costa ha, os quaes cães quando os sentem as despertaõ com seus ladridos, & assim andaõ sempre juntos, & misturados com ellas, ainda que animaes brutos, conhecem-se, & se fazem festa. E como as vacas se hiaõ afastando

da terra onde se criáão, de contino davaõ berros como saudosas, & no quarto d'alva vindo os Cafres botar os cães dentro com grandes assobios, & gritas, as vacas como os sentiraõ saltáão por cima das tendas fugindo com os cães detras. Fomos apoz ellas brigando com os Cafres, aos quaes lhes matamos o filho do Rey, & muytos de sua cõpanhia, & elles nos ferirão tres homês.

Este dia foy para nòs muyto triste, porque nos leváão as vacas em que traziamos todo o mantimento, & ellas per si o eraõ tam-bem. Traziamos em nossa companhia hum Cafre, que veyo ter com nosco onde desembarcamos, natural das Ilhas de Angoxa, ao qual sómente entendião os nossos Cafres, & vinha preso, porque como nos tinha promettido vir ensinando os caminhos, & depois o não fazer, foy necessario trazelo assim. Este nos disse, que dali a vinte dias de caminho de Cafre a chariamos vacas, que vinhão a ser dous mezes do nosso caminho, & que tudo atè là era deserto, como depois achamos, & ainda muyto mais do que elle nos affirmou. Fomos fazendo nosso caminho em ordem, comendo cada hum daquillo que podia trazer ás costas; alem das armas, & resgate, que com todos se repartio, de modo que vinha cada pessoa muy carregada, & erão os orvalhos tantos, que ordinariamente vinhamos molhados todos atè o meyo dia, que o Sol os derretia, mas isto era para nòs trabalho suave a respeyto das chuvas, que ordinariamente nos perseguiaõ, & de outras misérias, & apertos mayores, em que nos vimos ao diante, & em que muytos acabárão a vida.

A vinte hum deste mez pouco mais, ou menos, decendo hũa serra altissima, chegamos a hum rio, que passamos em espaço de dous dias, & foy o primeyro que passamos com jangadas, ao qual puzemos nome do Almisere, por o Capitaõ mandar deytar nelle todo o que na companhia vinha por descarregar os homês, que o traziaõ. E caminhando dous dias por serras altissimas de pedra, dèmos em huma praya toda chea de pedra solta, & em hum rio, que passamos com huma jangada, que fizemos, & da outra banda delle achamos huns Cafres caçadores, os quaes nos venderão hũa pouca de carne de cavallo marinho, que foy para nòs grande alento, & a este rio puzemos nome, o dos Camarões por nelle nos venderem muytos. Dali fomos caminhando por hũa serra acima atè voltarmos á praya de pedra solta, que nos custava muyto trabalho o caminhar por ella.

Aqui aconteceu hũa cousa lastimosa, & nos mostrou o tempo

hũa grande crueldade, & foy, que vindo na companhia hũa moça-sinha branca filha de hum velho Portuguez, que nos morreo na Náo, o qual era homem rico, & a levava para a meter Freyra em Portugal, indo caminhando em hum andor enfraqueçerão os que por partido de dous mil cruzados a levavaõ ; & como ella alli não tinha mais que hum irmão moçosinho, que pudesse manifestar ao Capitão a grande crueldade, que era deyxar hũa moça donzela, & ferosa em hum deserto aos tigres, & leões, se não teve a compayxaõ, que em taõ notavel caso se devia ; ainda que o Capitão fez algumas diligencias tomando o andor ás costas, fazendo-o assim todas as pessoas nobres, que hiaõ na companhia, por ver se com este exemplo o quieriaõ fazer algũas das outras, prometendo-lhes muyto mayor partido do que antes se lhes dava. Com tudo não houve alguem, que o quizesse fazer, nem realmente podiamos pela muyta fome, que entaõ padeciamos. Foy ella atè o outro dia caminhando a pè encostada em dous homẽs, & como vinha muyto fraca o não podia fazer senaõ com muyto vagar, & assim a trouxemos atè que ella não pode mais dar passo, & se começou a queyxar, & lastimar, pois era taõ desgraçada, & quieriaõ seus peccados, que aonde hia tanta gente, & se levavaõ quatro andores, não houvesse quem levasse o seu por nenhum dinheyro, sendo assim que era o mais leve que hia na companhia, por ella ser muyto magra, & pequenina, & outras palavras lastimosas, que dizia com muyto sentimento. Pedio Confissãõ, & depois de a fazer disse em voz alta de modo que foy ouvida : Padre Frey Bernardo eu fico muyto consolada, que Deos ha de haver misericordia com a minha alma, que pois elle foy servido, que em taõ pequena idade padecesse tantas misérias, & trabalhos, permitindo me deyxem em hum deserto aos tigres & leões sem haver quem disso tenha compayxaõ, ha de permittir, que seja tudo para minha salvaçaõ. El dizendo estas palavras se deytou no chaõ cobrindo-se com huma saya de tafeta preto, que trazia vestida, & de quando em quando indo passando a gente descobria a cabeça, & dizia : Ah Portuguezes crueis, que vos não compadeceis de hũa moça donzella Portugueza como vòs, & a deyxais para ser mantimento de animaes ; nosso Senhor vos leve a vossas casas. Eu que vinha de tras de todos consoley ao irmão, que com ella ficava, & lhe pedi andasse por diante, o que elle não queria fazer, antes mandou dizer ao Capitão, que queria ficar com sua irmaã, o qual me avisou, que por nenhum caso consentisse tal, & que

o trouxesse comigo, como fiz vindo-o consolando, mas sua dor foy de maneyra, que dahi a poucos dias se ficou tambem. Veja V. M. que cousa tanto para lastimar, de mim sey dizer, que estes, & outros espectaculos semelhantes me davaõ mayor pena, que as fomes, & trabalhos, que padecia.

Fazendo assim nosso caminho tres dias, viemos ter a hum rio, o qual fazia hũa praya de area, & nella achamos algum marisco, que foy de nõs muy festejado pelas notaveis fomes, que hiamos padecendo. Aqui esperamos hũa tarde que acabasse de vazar para podermos passar, mas a tardança foy mayor do que cuydavamos, & como a gente vinha taõ faminta, puzeraõ-se a comer todos hũas favas, que pela borda do rio se achavaõ, as quaes nos puzeraõ á morte, & se não fora a muyta pedra vazar, que traziamos, não escapara pessoa alguma. E com isto ser assim, cada hora nos punha neste mesmo perigo a grande fome, para remedio da qual se comia todo genero de herva, & fruta, que achavamos, & não era bastante conhecer o mal, que nos faziaõ para deyxar de as comer.

No meyo destes apertos nos foy de grande proveyto muyta quantidade de figueyras bravas que nesta terra achamos, com os talos das quaes, & com muyta ortiga fomos passando muytos dias. Neste rio estivemos dous dias esperando tornassemos do grande accidente, que tivemos, & partindonos daqui nos vieraõ seguindo a retaguarda hũs poucos de Cafres, os quaes nos tinhaõ furtado dous caldeyrões, & porque nõs lhe não demos o castigo, que seu atrevimento merecia, vierão a fazer taõ pouco caso de nõs, que nos vinhaõ tirando com paos tostados, mas pagáraõ logo sua demasiada ousadia, porque o carpinteyro da viagem que mais perto se achou, lhe tirou com a espingarda, & quebrou os braços a hum, & o atravessou pelos peytos. Os quaes vendo o muyto dano, que hũa só arma das nossas lhes fazia, deytáraõ a fugir, & nõs viemos fazendo nossa viagem.

Foraõ apertando as fomes tanto com nosco, que nos obrigáraõ a comer immundicias, que o mar botava fóra, que eraõ alforrecas, & mija vinagre, & era tal a necessidade, que quem tinha alguma cousa de comer a não dava, ainda que visse perecer hum amigo, ou parente. Eu em todas estas necessidades (seja Deos bemdito) passey melhor, que muytos, porque me posso gavar, que trazia a melhor espingarda da companhia, & que era o que melhor tirava, & assim nunca me faltou caça, pouca, ou muyta, posto

que me custava muyto trabalho busca-la, & achala, por esta terra ser muy deserta de aves, & animaes, de maneyra que nunca houve occasiaõ, que pudesse matar animal grande: & do que matava partia com quem me parecia, & o demais escondia-o que não soubessem parte d'elle mais que os matalotes, & tudo era necessario pelos odios, malquerenças, & perigos, que dahi podiam succeder.

Caminhamos assim mais algũs dias atè chegarmos a hum rio, em que havia muytos caranguejos, & por chover infinita agua o não pudemos passar, & ao outro dia pela manhaã aconteceu hum notavel caso, & foy: Que nas terras atras tinhaõ dito ao Capitaõ Pero de Moraes, que hum Sebastiaõ de Moraes Capitaõ de huma estancia, que se dizia ser seu parente, tratava com a gente de que era Capitaõ, de que a mayor parte eraõ mancebos mal acostumados, adiantarse com ella, & tomarnos a pedraria, apartando-se de nòs, dando por razaõ, que queriaõ andar mais depressa. Ao que Pero de Moraes acudio logo, & com muyto segredo abrio a borsoleta, & tirou della os oyto bisalhos, em que vinha resumida toda, & os meteo em hum alforge, o qual entregou ao carpinteyro da viagem Vicente Esteves, de que elle muyto confiava, & dentro na borsoleta, em que a dita pedraria vinha, meteo pedras, que podiaõ pesar a quantidade, que della tinha tirado, & isto tudo fez com tanto segredo, que muyto poucas pessoas o sabiaõ. E neste rio, em que estavamos, por as fomes serem notaveis, & andarmos todos esfaimadissimos, aconteceu na tenda do carpinteyro, que tenho dito, verem os seus negros andar demais hum alforge, que seu amo não fiava de ninguem, & pareceolhes, que seria arroz, & ajuntando-se com os do Capitaõ, determináraõ abrilo de noyte, como fizeraõ, tirando-lhe hum dos ditos bisalhos, parecendolhes era cada hum hũa medida de arroz, porque assim o costumavamos trazer repartido em atadozinhos de medida cada hum. Tirado fóra o bisalho foraõ-no abrir ao mato, & vendo que era pedraria, temendo, que os enforcassem pelo furto, fugiraõ com ella.

Pela manhaã vio o carpinteyro o alforge rasgado, foyse logo ter com o Capitaõ, dando gritos, & dizendo, que era roubada a pedraria. E como nella vinha nosso remedio, tomamos as armas, & fomos muyto depressa à tenda do Capitaõ Sebastiaõ de Moraes, & vimos a borsoleta chea, & fechada com os cadeados, que dantes tinha, & julgamos ser tudo por zombaria. O Capitaõ Pero de

Moraes muyto agastado nos contou a historia, que atras tenho dito, dizendo-nos, que alli não vinha pedraria & mostrandonos aonde estava, vimos o furto, que se tinha feyto, & tendo por certo o que o carpinteyro lhe tinha contado, sem mais vereficar cousa algũa se foy à tenda de Sebastião de Moraes, & o mandou prender, amarrandolhe as mãos atras, & juntamente a quatro homens de sua companhia, a hum dos quaes deu crueis tormentos estando cego da payxaõ, sendo assim, que estavaõ os pobres homens innocentes do que lhe tinhaõ levantado. Este se chamava João Carvalho, ao qual lhe deraõ rijos tratos. O pobre homem chamava pela Virgem Maria da Conceyção lhe acudisse, a qual permittio, que neste mesmo tempo se soube quem tinha furtado a pedraria, que se se não descobrira tão depressa tinha o Capitão ordenado de os mandar enforcar. Como se conheceo a innocencia dos quatro homens, os mandou soltar, ficando preso o seu Capitão Sebastião de Moraes.

E logo chamou o Capitão os mais principaes homens, que alli vinhaõ, os quaes eraõ Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, o Capitão Gregorio de Vidanha, Thomè Coelho Dalmeyda, Vicente Lobo de Sequeyra, Antonio Godinho, & eu, & a cada hum de nòs per si só nos mostrou hum libello, que contra Sebastião de Moraes tinha feyto, no qual se dizia, que era homem inquieto, & revoltoso, cabeça de rancho, amotinador, & que se temia, que elle fosse causa de nossa destruição, & que fizesse com os homens de sua parcialidade divisaõ, & se fosse roubando-nos, & ficando o arrayal enfraquecido sem aquelles homens de armas, que eraõ da melhor gente, que havia, & com outras palavras criminosas desta qualidade, dizendonos, que para quietação do arrayal era necessario matar este homem, pois de sua vida podiaõ resultar muytos trabalhos, & com sua morte ficavaõ evitados todos, pedindo a estas pessoas votassem sobre a materia; as quaes votáraõ o que lhes pareceo, & chegando a eu haver de votar, propondo-me elle a causa, lhe disse, que eu não era Dezembargador para sentencear a ninguem á morte, & que se elle o queria mandar matar lhe armasse outro caramilho. Elle me respondeo estas palavras: Que direis àquillo se o eu tenho afrontado? Caleyme, & elle se foy á cabana de Lopo de Sousa a communicar o negocio, & feytos huns papeis, o mandou degolar, sem a isso lhe poder valer ninguem, nem se soube causa bastante para esta morte deyxar de ser estranhada, antes se teve a grande crueldade, mayormente

em tempo, que havíamos mister companheyros, & sendo aquelle de boa disposiçaõ, & mancebo.

Fomos fazendo nosso caminho por estes desertos, subindo, & decendo cerras muyto fragosas, passando muytos rios todos cheyos de cavallo marinhos, & notaveis animaes. Aqui mata-mos hum Cafre, que atras disse tinhamos achado onde desembarcamos, que dizia ser de Angoxa. Este nos prometteo pelo que lhe là demos de vir com nosco, & nos ensinar o caminho, & porque nos quiz fugir por muytas vezes, o traziamos preso, & temendo nõs dissesse aos Cafres algũs descuydos, que em nõs havia, & como as nossas espingardas não faziaõ obra pelo tempo de chuva, o que elle ordinariamente vinha perguntando aos nossos negros, & via muytas vezes quererem-nas disparar, & o não poderem fazer por virem molhadas, além do que muytas vezes nos dizia hũa cousa, & depois outra em contrario, & por todas estas causas se resolveraõ a matalo.

Continuamos nossa viagem atè quinze de Dezembro pouco mais, ou menos, & chegamos a hum rio, aonde vinhamos já taõ mortos de fome, que vendiam no arrayal os Grumetes, & marinheyros a medida de arroz por cento & cincoenta pardaos, & chegou a valer cento & oytenta, & houve pessoas, que gastaraõ nisto mais de quatro mil pardaos, das quaes foy huma Dona Ursula para seu sustento, & de seus filhos, & outra Beatriz Alvarez. E vinhamos muy tristes por nos ir faltando muyta gente, & nenhũa de doença por ser a terra sadia.

Aqui me aconteeo hũa historia, que por ser a V. M. tenho confiança para a contar, & porque tambem foy notoria a todos. Antes que decessemos a este rio encima na serra disse o Capitaõ, que fosse eu com quinze homens arcabuzeyros obra de huma legoa por cima ver se descobria algũa povoação, porq̃ eraõ já limites donde o Cafre nos tinha dito acharíamos vacas, & indo eu obra de meya legoa na volta, que fazia o rio em huma vargea, vi estar hũa povoação de quinze casas de palha, & por não causar espanto aos Cafres mandey seis homens fossem ver se havia algum modo de mantimento, que nos vendessem, ao que elles se escusáraõ dizendo, que aquella povoação mostrava ter muyta gente, & ficavamos longe para os poder socorrer. Com o que eu enfadado depois de ter razões com elles, escolhi os melhores quatro arcabuzeyros, que alli estavaõ, que eraõ Joaõ Ribeyro, Cypriano Dias, Francisco Luis, & o despenseyro, & eu com elles, & nos

fomos pela serra abayxo passar hum valle, que entre nòs, & a povoação dos negros estava, no qual havia hum rio cheyo então com a marè; passamolo com a agua pelo pescoço, & chegamos á porta da cerca, & pedimos-lhe nos vendessem algũa cousa de comer fallando-lhe por acenos, metendo a mão na boca; que por inadvertencia, & esquecimento não levamos lingua, que lhes dissesse a que hiamos, nem a pedimos ao Capitaõ, porque estes Cafres já entendiaõ aos nossos, que da India traziamos. Elles como nos viraõ vestidos, & brancos pasmáraõ, & as mulheres, & mininos deraõ grandes gritos, chamando gente da outra povoação, que estava no mato. E os maridos, que com ellas estavaõ nos foraõ seguindo, & atirando cõ paos tostados. Vendo eu o dano, que nos podiaõ fazer, mandey a Joaõ Ribeyro, que atirasse com o seu arcabuz, o que logo fez, & não tomando fogo dentro se assanháraõ mais os Cafres, & tiveraõ por feyticeria o acenderse fogo. E visto o perigo, em que estavamos puz a espingarda no rosto, & matey tres de hum só tiro por atirar sempre com hum pelouro, & tres feytos em dados. Causáraõ estas mortes grande espanto, & paráraõ os outros com o furor, com que vinhaõ. Torney a carregar a espingarda, & viemos muyto de vagar, & quando chegamos ao braço do rio, que atras digo, o achámos quasi vazio, & nelle hũa gamboa com dous còvos muyto grandes cheyos de tainhas, os quaes abrimos, & nisto deceraõ os outros compa-nheyros como ouviraõ o estouro da espingarda, & nos carregamos deste peyxe, que em tal tempo foy hũ grande soccorro; mas vinhamos temerosos do que nos tinha succedido, a respeyto do Capitaõ nos haver encomendado, que nos sofressemos, & nos não descompuzessemos com os Cafres, porque tinha para si, que ficaria hũa guerra alevantada por toda a Cafraria, & seria causa de nossa destruição. O que foy pelo contrario, porque daqui por diante, & depois que foy forçado matalos em algũas partes, logo das mesmas povoações nos vinhaõ pedir algũa cousa para a mulher, ou filho do morto.

Chegando á presença do Capitaõ lhe fiz hum fermoso presente de tainhas, que elle festejou muyto, & depois de estar contente com a vista de cousa taõ desejada, & para estimar em meyo de tantas fomes, lhe contamos o que nos succedera, o que elle sentio muyto, & não duvido, que se deste caso resultàra algum mal, que me custara caro, porque se castigava muytamente toda a desordem. Neste mesmo dia como o Capitaõ chegou abayxo ao

rio, vio-se hum Cafre, & tomando falla delle, disse que dali por diante havia vacas, & algumas sementeyras, & logo pedio a Rodrigo Affonso de Mello fosse com vinte homens descobrir o que havia, & o negro foy com elle, & depois lhes disse, que se recolhessem, que era tarde, & que ao outro dia viria, & os levaria aonde lhes tinha dito, o que logo fez Rodrigo Affonso, & fazendo caminho pela povoação aonde tinhamos mortos os tres negros, os achou ainda por enterrar, & lhos mostráráõ com muyto medo, & tremendo, do que Rodrigo Affonso ficou espantado, porque não sabia do que acontecêra, & lhe disseraõ, que os mortos tiveraõ a culpa, porque começáraõ a guerra primeyro, & que já o tinhaõ feyto saber ao seu Rey, & lhes deraõ do que tinhaõ em sua sementeyra, que eraõ aboboras de carneyro, & patecas verdes. Rodrigo Affonso lhes deu dous pedacinhos de cobre, que he a melhor veniaga destas partes, & veyo-se recolhendo.

Ao outro dia tornou a vir o mesmo Cafre, & foy Rodrigo Affonso com elle, & andou là hum dia, & hũa noyte, & caminhado mais avante encontrou o filho do Rey, que os Cafres diziaõ, com cem Cafres de guerra bem armados todos com suas zagayas de ferro em hum valle, os quaes vinhaõ visitar o nosso Capitaõ, & traziaõ o mais fermoso boy, que nunca vi, sem cornos, & fizeraõ Saguete delle ao Capitaõ, & ao outro dia nos trouxeraõ mais quatro vacas, que nos venderaõ, dizendo, que se quizessem esperar mais oyto dias, nos trariaõ a vender quantas quizessemos, & quando não que esperassemos até o outro dia, que nos venderiaõ vinte vacas, o que fizemos, mas elles não vieraõ. E porque nos hia enfraquecendo a gente, principalmente os que traziaõ os andores, & se acabava a comida, & estavamos quedos, & tambem pelo que o Cafre nos tinha dito entendemos, que seria já a terra farta, determinamos de ir por diante, & ao outro dia fomos dormir a hũa alagoa, a qual não tinha raãs, do que ficamos muyto sentidos. As fomes eraõ já intoleraveis, & se comia já no arrayal todo o caõ, que se podia matar, o qual he muyto bom comer (fallando fóra de fomes) porque eu muytas vezes tinha vaca, & se havia caõ gordo, a deyxava pelo comer, & assim o faziaõ muytas pessoas. Os homens que traziaõ os andores se escusavaõ já de os trazer, por não poderem, & querendo o Capitaõ forçar algũs a isso, fugio nesta paragem hum marinheyro para os Cafres, que se chamava o Rezaõ.

Indo caminhando hũs poucos de dias chegamos a hum rio,

aonde da banda do Cabo num alto estava huma povoação de pescadores, & nós assentamos o arrayal da outra banda. Elles nos trouxeraõ a vender hũa pouca de massa feyta de hũas sementes mais miudas que mostarda, de hũas hervas, que apegão no fato, a qual sabia muyto bem a quem della podia alcançar algũa cousa. Aqui se puzeraõ todos os homens, que traziaõ os andores em hum corpo, dizendo, que se nenhuma pessoa do arrayal podia dar passada com fome, & ficavaõ muytos mortos, que fariaõ elles, que traziaõ os andores às costas, que bem os podiaõ mandar matar, que não haviaõ de passar dalli com elles ainda que lhes dessem por isso os thesouros do mundo, & que parece bastava haver mais de mez, & meyo, que os traziaõ, subindo, & decendo serras, que elles perdoavaõ tudo o que se lhes tinha promettido pelo trabalho atras passado, & isto com grandes clamores, & lagrimas. Ao que acudiraõ os Religiosos, dizendo ao Capitaõ, que elle não podia forçar a ninguem a tomarem trabalhos mortaes, & que já nos tinha fugido hum para os Cafres, & que estes pobres homẽs parecia já cada hum huma semelhança da morte. O Capitaõ ajuntou a todos, & em voz alta mandou lançar hum pregaõ, dizendo, que se houvesse quatro homẽs, que por preço de oyto mil cruzados quizessem levar Lopo de Sousa às costas, & outro si a qualquer das mulheres, que nos ditos andores vinhaõ, que logo os depositaria na maõ de cada hum pro rata como lhe coubesse, ao qual pregaõ ninguem sahio.

Neste lugar succederaõ por meus peccados as mayores crueldades, & os mais lastimosos espectaculos, que já mais aconteceraõ, nem se podem imaginar, porque a estas mulheres, que vinhaõ nos andores se lhes perguntou se nos podiaõ acompanhar por seu pè, porque doutra maneyra não podia ser, & a seu respeyto tinhamos vindo taõ vagarosamente, & estavamos muy atrasados do caminho, & era morta muyta gente só de fome, & não havia quem por preço algum os quizesse trazer às costas, & que por evitar males mayores, & por parecer de hũ Religioso Theologó se tinha ordenado de se não esperar por ninguem, que não pudesse andar, porque nos hiamos cõsumindo, que as que tivessem saude para o poder fazer se deliberassem atè o outro dia, & as que haviaõ de ficar, as deyxariaõ em companhia de muytas pessoas, que no arrayal vinhaõ fracas, & doentes, na povoação de pescadores, que defronte de nós estava. Julgue V. M. agora, que nova podia esta ser para Beatriz Alvrez, que trazia alli quatro filhos, tres

delles crianças, & para Dona Ursula, que trazia tres filhinhos, o mais velho de onze annos, & sua mãy vèlha, que de força havia de ficar, sendo-lhe já morto seu marido, & seu pay, não tratando de Lopo de Sousa fidalgo tão honrado, & tão valente, & como tal tinha brigado na Náo, de que ainda trazia as feridas abertas, & vinha doente de camaras, na qual dor, & sentimento me coube a mim mayor parte, por sermos ambos de hũa criação em Lisboa, & sermos de hum tempo no serviço da India.

Toda esta noyte se passou em puras lagrimas, & gemidos, despedindo-se os que hiaõ dos que haviaõ de ficar, & foy a mais compassiva cousa, que já mais se vio, que todas as vezes, que isto me lembra não posso ter as lagrimas. Ao outro dia pela manhã se soube, que ficava Beatriz Alvarez com dous filhos dos tres machos que tinha, & hũa filha de idade de dous annos linda creatura, & o filho mais pequeno lhe tomamos, ainda que contra sua vontade, por não ficar alli hũa geração toda; & a mãy de Dona Ursula Maria Colaça, & Lopo de Sousa, & tres, ou quatro pessoas muyto fracas, que nos não podiaõ acompanhar, os quaes se confessáraõ todos com grande dor, & lagrimas, que realmente parecia huma cousa cruel não nos deyxarmos ficar com ellas, antes que vermos tal despedida. Por hũa parte se via Beatriz Alvarez mulher delicada, & mimosa com hũa minina de dous annos no collo de hũa Cafra, que com ella ficou, a qual não quiz nunca largar, com hum filhinho de cinco annos, & outro de dezasete; o qual mostrou grandissimo animo, & amor, fazendo a mais honrada cousa que naquelle estado pudera fazer pessoa algũa, & foy, que a mãy lhe disse por muytas vezes, que ella ficava meya morta, porque o seu mal antigo do figado a tinha entrado muyto, que poucos haviaõ de ser seus dias de vida, ainda que ficára entre regalos, & que seu pay hia com huma Nao daquellas, que brigara com nosco, & podia ser morto, que era moço que nos acompanhasse, & todos os Religiosos apertárão com elle, dando-lhe muytas razões, dizendo-lhe, que não só arriscava o corpo, mas que tambem arriscava a alma por ficar em terra de infieis, aonde lhe podiaõ entrar os seus máos costumes, & ceremonias. Ao que respondeo com muytõ animo, que nosso Senhor haveria misericordia de sua alma, & que atègora os tivera por seus amigos, & agora os ficava tendo em differente conta, & que razão podia elle dar depois aos homêes, deyxando sua mãy em poder de Cafres barbaros. Por outra parte se via Dona

Ursula despedir da mãe, que ficava : julgue V.M. as lastimas, que se dirião hũa á outra, & as que nos causariaõ. De Lopo de Sousa se foraõ todos despedir, & vendo elle, que eu o não fazia, mandou, que fosse o andor, que o levava, & passasse pela tenda onde eu estava, & me disse estas palavras em voz alta, & com muyto animo : Eya senhor Frãcisco Vaz d'Almada não sois o amigo, com que me eriey na escola, & na India andamos sempre juntos como me não fallais agora ? Veja V. M. qual eu ficaria vendo hum fidalgo, de quem era particular servidor naquelle estado. Levanteyme, & abraceyo, & disse lhe : Confesso a V. M. de mim esta fraqueza, porque não tive animo para ver a pessoa, que eu tanto amava em tal estado ; que me perdoasse, se nisso o offendera. Elle, que atè então teve o rosto enxuto não pode ter as lagrimas, & disse aos q̃ o trazião, que andassem, & querendo eu acompanhalo atè a povoação dos Cafres donde elle havia de ficar, o não quiz consentir, & tapando com a mão os olhos me disse : Ficayvos embora amigo, & alembrayvos da minha alma, levandovos Deos a terra onde o possais fazer. Confesso, que foy esta a mayor dor, & sentimento, que nunca atè então tive. O Capitão lhe deu cousas de resgate, como erão muytos pedaços de cobre, & de latão, que he cousa, que aqui val mais que tudo, & dous caldeyrões. Aqui ficarão dous homens escondidamente, que se chamavão Gaspar Fixa, & Pedro de Duenhas.

Partimonos muy lastimados fazendo nosso caminho por serras altas, & fomos albergar aquella noyte à borda de hum rio, aonde achamos algũs carangueginhos pequenos, que não foy pequeno bem para nòs, & ao outro dia continuamos o caminho, & assentamos o arrayal á noyte em hum rio fresco, ao longo do qual por elle acima havia tres, ou quatro povoações, ás quaes mandamos saber por hum Cafre lingua se havia vacas, ou quem desse razão dellas, & nòs entretanto fomos esfaymados a huma ponte de pedra, que a praya fazia, ao marisco, & cortar figueyras bravas para comer. Vindo-nos recolhendo á noyte às tendas, que deyxamos armadas, muy contentes por trazermos muytas figueyras cortadas para comermos, achamos por nova, que viera a lingua, & trouxera dous negros comsigo, que dizião, que lhe dessem dous homẽs, & hum pedaço de cobre, que elle os levaria aonde houvesse vacas, & que levassem cobre, que elles as trarião pela manhaã, o que o Capitão fez com muyta alegria mandãdo

Fructuoso d'Andrade, & Gaspar Dias, os quaes levavão o que os Cafres pedião, & nós ficamos muy alvoroçados esperando nos trouxessem muyto bom recado, porque delle dependia a vida de todos. Quiz Deos, que ao outro dia às dez horas vierão os homens muy alegres, trazendonos hũa vaca, & dando-nos por novas virão muytas povoações todas com vacas. Logo se mandou matar a vaca, & partir, & se comeo assada, da qual costumavamos não deytar fóra mais que a bosta grossa, porque a mais miuda, & as unhas, & o miolo dos cornos, & couro tudo se comia. E não se espante V. M. disto, porque quem comia todos os negros, & brancos, que morrião, mais facil lhe ficava este manjar.

Logo nos fomos em busca das aldeas levando por guias os Cafres, que com os dous Portuguezes, que trouxeraõ a vaca tinhaõ vindo, & não podendo chegar là aquelle dia posto que andamos muyto, dormimos aquella noyte em hum valle, que tinha feno mais alto que huma lança, & ao outro dia pela manhaã levantamonos cedo, & caminhando por hũa ladeyra acima terra bem assombrada, encontramos alguns negros aos quaes perguntamos pelas povoações, & nos disseraõ, que se caminhassemos bem, como o Sol empinasse chegaríamos là. E como hiamos desejosos, & necessitados, supposto que fracos, nos puzemos ao caminho subindo sempre, & chegamos á tarde acima de hũa serra, da qual vimos a mais fermosa cousa, que a vista então podia desejar, porque se descobriaõ dali muytos valles todos cortados de rios, & serras mais pequenas, pelas quaes se viaõ infinitas povoaçoens todas cheas de vacas, & sementeyras, com a qual vista decemos á serra muy contentes, & nos vinhaõ trazendo ao caminho vasos de leyte a vender, & vacas, as quaes lhe não compramos alli, & lhes dissemos, que passando hum rio, que apparecia do cume, em hũa serra pequena, haviamos de assentar o arrayal, & estar tres, ou quatro dias, pelo que falassem huns com outros, para que quem tivesse alguma cousa de comer, & a quizesse vender por aquelle dinheyro, que eraõ pedaços de cobre, & lataõ, se fossem ter com nosco. Passando o rio chegamos ao Sol posto á paragem que digo, & pondo nossas tendas em ordem, mandou o Capitão a Antonio Borges, que tinha a seu carregó comprar todas as cousas de comer, com quatro homens de espingarda de guarda afastados do arrayal, para que os negros se não misturassem com nosco (costume, que sempre nesta viagem se guardou inviolavelmente.) E para que V. M. sayba que vinhamos com boa

ordem, digo, que traziamos todo o resgate, & cousas com que se comprava de comer repartido entre nós, trazendo o homem, que menos arma trazia, mayor quantidade, de maneyra que não havia pessoa nenhuma, que ficasse izenta destes trabalhos. E todas as cousas por pequenas que fossem vinhaõ assentadas em hũ livro por receyta, as quaes despendia este Antonio Borges como feytor, & comprador, que era, & se algũa outra pessoa queria comprar algũa cousa, era castigado muy rigurosamente, ainda que fosse com cousa, que trouxesse escondida; & isto se fazia por evitar a alteraçã do preço, que os muytos compradores costumaõ fazer. Este homem dava conta ao Capitaõ com escriptaõ do que despendia, & isto se guardou em vida do Capitaõ, & depois de lhe eu succeder atè o fim, como ao diante se dirá.

Ainda neste dia se resgatáraõ quatro vacas, entre as quaes vinha hum grande touro, que o Capitaõ me pedio matasse á espingarda, porque estavaõ infinitos negros juntos, para lhe mostrar a força, & poder das armas que traziamos. E andando este touro com as vacas comendo entre ellas, para fazer mayor espanto, lhes disse, que se afastassem todos, & que aquillo lho dizia, porq̃ lhes não fizesse mal aquella arma. Elles fazendo pouco caso, se deyxáraõ ficar, & eu me fuy chegando ao touro obra de trinta passos, & dando hum grito alevantou a cabeça, a qual tinha bayxa por andar comendo, & lhe dey com o pelouro na testa caindo logo morto. E vendo os Cafres o effeyto, que fez a espingarda botáraõ a fugir, & depois o Capitaõ os mandou chamar, os quaes vieraõ muy temerosos, & ficáraõ ainda muyto mais depois que viraõ o boy morto, & que metêraõ o dedo pelo buraco do pelouro, que na testa tinha. Todas estas quatro vacas se matáraõ este dia, & se repartiraõ igualmente por toda a gente como sempre se fazia por pessoas, que para isso havia separadas; & ao outro dia se resgatáraõ dez, ou doze, & se matáraõ outras quatro, cabendo a cada pessoa de quatro vacas tres arrateis, a fóra o couro, & tripas, porque tudo se repartia. Quiz aqui o Capitaõ dar esta fartura à gente para ver se tornavamos a tomar forças, & disposiçaõ, matando todos os dias, que aqui estivemos quatro vacas. Mas foy esta fartura causa de nos darẽ camaras a respeyto de comermos a carne mea crua, & assim ficamos com pouca mais melhoria da que trouxemos, que realmente nos causava espanto ver, que morriamos por não comer, & que o muyto tambem nos matava. Aqui nos trouxeraõ tambem a vender

muyto leyte, & hũas frutas da cor, & sabor de cerejas, mas mais compridas.

Esta foy a paragem, em que se resgatou mayor quantidade de vacas juntas, que em toda a jornada, porque alẽm de treze que se matãrão em quanto aqui estivemos, que foraõ sinco dias, levamos com nosco outras tantas, no fim dos quaes nos fomos caminhando por huma serra alta, & muy comprida, aonde nos traziaõ muytos cabaços de leyte a vender, & das frutas, que tenho dito, & alojamos no meyo de hũa serra rodeada de povoações todas cheas de gado, & sementeyra, & hum rio pelo pẽ. Ao outro dia acudindo negros com vacas para vender lhe compramos dez, ou onze. Aqui aconteceu mandar o Capitaõ enforcar hũa negra por furtar hũa pequena de carne, que naõ pezaria meyo arratel (demasiada crueldade.) E ao outro dia acabamos de subir aquella serra, que era muyto alta, em busca de huma povoação, aonde vivia o Rey de todo aquelle Concam, à qual chegamos à tarde, & era a mayor que atẽ entãõ tinhamos visto. O Rey que era cego veyo visitar ao Capitaõ, & lhe trouxe de Saguete hum pouco de milho em hum cabaço, o qual, ainda que velho era bem disposto. E he cousa para notar, que sendo barbaros sem conhecimento da verdade, saõ taõ graves, & taõ respeytados de seus vassallos, que o naõ sey encarecer, elles os governãõ, & castigãõ, de modo que os tem quietos, & obedientes. Tem suas leys, & castigãõ os adulterios galantemente desta maneyra, se hũa mulher faz adulterio a seu marido, & lho prova com testemunhas, a manda matar, & ao adultero juntamente se o podem apanhar; com as mulheres do qual casa o aggravado. Quando se querem casar, o Rey he o que faz o concerto, de maneyra que senãõ pòde fazer casamento sem elle nomear a mulher. E tem por costume, que os filhos sendo de dez annos os botão para o mato, & se vestem de humas folhas de arvore como palmeyra, da cintura para bayxo, & se untão com cinza ficando cayados, os quaes se ajuntãõ todos, & naõ chegaõ a povoado, porque lá aos matos lhes levaõ as mãys de comer. Estes tem por officio balharem nos casamentos, & festas, que elles costumãõ fazer, aos quaes pagaõ com vacas, & bezerros, & com cabras aonde as ha; & depois que neste officio ajunta qualquer delles tres, ou quatro cabeças de gado, & he de idade de dezoyto annos para cima, vay o pay, ou a mãy ao seu Rey, & lhe diz que tem hum filho de idade conveniente, o qual tem por seu braço ganha-

do tantas cabeças de gado, & o dito pay, ou mãy o quer ajudar, dando-lhe mais algũa cousa, & lhe pede o queyra casar. ElRey lhe diz : Ide a tal parte, & dizey a fulano, que traga cá sua filha, & em vindo os concerta no dote, que o marido he obrigado dar ao sogro, & sempre o Rey nestes concertos costuma ficar com as mãos untadas. Isto he o que se usa atè Unhaca Manganheyra, que he o rio de Lourenço Marquez.

Depois de o Capitão ser visitado deste Rey, como era mayor que todos os que atè então tínhamos visto, determinoulhe dar de Saguete hũa grande pessa, a qual foy hum castiçal de latão pequeno com hum prègo preso no fundo, com o qual ficava tangendo como compainha, & muyto bem limpo, atado com hum cordão de retròz lho lançou ao pescoço, ao que o Rey fez grande festa, & os seus ficarão espantados de ver cousa tão excellente. Dali nos fomos ao outro dia continuando nosso caminho atè junto de hum rio o mayor que atè então tínhamos visto, acima do qual dormimos, & ao outro dia caminhámos pelo meyo de serras muyto altas, que por junto delle estavão, com proposito de ver se lhe podíamos achar vaõ, ou parte em que fosse estreyto, & que corresse com menos furia para o podermos passar com jangada.

Levavamos em nossa companhia vinte vacas, & supposto que matavamos cada dia hũa, & cabia a cada pessoa hum arratel, padeciamos grandissimas fomes. E por ser o rio muyto largo caminhámos por cima de hũa serra por caminhos muyto ingremes, & arriscados por ficarem caindo encima do rio dous dias atè chegarmos a hũa vargea, por cima da qual ficavaõ algũas aldeas, em que determinavamos comprar vacas. Os negros se emboscáraõ pela borda do rio, aonde de força haviamos de mandar buscar agua, & nos furtáraõ dous caldeyrões, que para ella serviaõ, mas pagárão o atrevimento, porque depois de lhe termos comprado duas vacas, vendo que não trazião mais a vender, & vindo hum negro com hũas canas de milho para vender, as quaes costumavamos comprar para comer, por serem doces, me mandou o Capitaõ lhe atirasse á espingarda, o que logo fiz, passando-o pelos peytos com hum pelouro, & assim botou a fugir pela serra acima. Aqui mandou o Capitaõ enforcar hum nosso Cafre por nos fugir duas vezes.

Tendo caminhado mais dous dias pela serra ao longo do rio, chegámos a hũa parte onde nos pareceo mais estreyto rio. Aqui mandou o Capitaõ hũ mulato seu, que nadava muyto bem, a ver

se podia passar o rio, o qual se afogou logo em se lançando, por ser grande corrente de agua, & ir em redemoinho. Como vimos, que a agua vinha com tanta força, determinámos de ir mais acima, & ao outro dia fomos caminhando por hũas serras bem assombradas, por serem cheas de povoações, & ao meyo dia assentamos o arrayal. E depois continuando nosso caminho com o proposito, que tenho dito, passamos por huma povoação, que estava em hum alto, & ao passar della nos trouxerão a vender muyta quantidade das frutas que atras disse, as quaes nos vendião por agulhetas de atacas.

Vindo detras da retaguarda dous grumetes fracos com suas espingardas ás costas, como os virão taes, & que vinhão afastados de nós lhes sahirão da povoação huns poucos de negros, & lhes tomáráo as espingardas. Ao que acudirão Thomè Coelho, & eu, & outros soldados, que na retaguarda vinhão, & lhe entrámos a povoação, matando todo genero de pessoa, que nella achámos, & tomando quatorze novilhos, que dentro estavaõ presos, os trouxemos com nosco, & viemos assentar o arrayal abayxo desta aldea, da outra banda de hum riosinho pegado com outras aldeas, sempre com muyta ordem, & vigilancia. Ao outro dia pela manhaã nos mandáraõ dous negros velhos a compor, & fazer amizades, ao que o Capitão se mostrou muyto aggravado, dizendo, que vindo elle seu caminho sem fazer mal a alguem o roubáraõ, & que promettia de vingar toda a injuria, que nisto se lhe tinha feyto. Elles deraõ suas razões, dizendo, que lhe mataramos muyta gente; & em fim de razões, nos trouxeraõ as espingardas, & nos pagáraõ de composição duas vaquinhas, & pelas azagayas, que lhes tinhamos tomado nos deraõ outras duas, & nós lhes entregamos nove bezerros dos quatorze, que lhes tinhamos tomado, porque os cinco matámos aquella noyte, & descendido a mim, & a meu matalote nos coube hum, de que partimos com os amigos. Á tarde nos trouxeraõ outras duas vacas, & hum touro, que lhes comprámos; & por ser o touro muyto bravo, mandou o Capitão o matassem às catanadas, ao que se defendeo elle de maneyra, que o não puderaõ matar, antes elle deu hũa revolta teza ao Capitão, & a tres, ou quatro pessoas, pelo que me pedio o matasse á espingarda, o qual antes que eu o matasse me deu hũa grande estropiada, lançandome a espingarda por hi alem; & alevantandome logo lhe atirey, & o passey pelas espadoas caindo logo morto por hũa ribaneyra abayxo, encima da qual me

punha todas as vezes que se offereciaõ, semelhantes occasioens, & era alvitre para mim, porque por cada touro que matava á espingarda, me davão humã mão, que naquelle estado não era pequeno bem.

Dali fomos á borda do rio, & nos puzemos junto a elle encima de hũa serra, lugar forte, que escolhemos para esperar atè que vazasse com menos furia, o que não fez por espaço de vinte cinco dias pouco mais, ou menos, que foy os que gastámos neste contorno, andando sempre ao longo do rio; no qual tempo nos aconteceraõ as cousas seguintes: Dia de Natal pela manhaã mandou o Capitão a Thomè Coelho Dalmeyda com vinte homens subisse hũa serra muy alta, que se estendia sempre ao longo do rio, & caminhasse sinco, ou seis legoas por ella á vista do rio, & visse se por là podia haver algũa passagem. E depois de andar por lá dous dias, se veyo, dizendo, que não achava melhor paragem para se poder passar, que alli onde estavamos, que aguardassemos se acabassem as chuvas, & que logo o rio havia de correr com menos furia, trazendo pouca agua, & assim o fizemos. Aqui mandou o Capitão enforçar dous negrinhos hum de Thomè Coelho, & outro de Dona Ursula só por furtarem huns pedacinhos de carne, sendo assim, que o mais velho não chegava a doze annos, dos quaes se teve muyta lastima, & se estranhou tanta crueldade.

A este rio puzemos o nome da fome, porque nelle padecemos as mayores que tivemos em toda a viagem. E por ver se havia remedio para se passar, prometteo o Capitão cem cruzados a qualquer das pessoas, que o passasse da outra banda, levando comsigo hũa linha de pescar para poder passar outra mais grossa, que pudesse ter humã jangada em que passassemos como já tinhamos feyto noutro rio atras, & como ninguem o fizesse, se offereceo hum meu negro por nome Agostinho sem nenhum interesse, o qual o fez com facilidade por ser grande radador; mas depois de passar a linha a quebrou a grande corrente da agua, em que claramente se vio, que se não poderia passar como queriamos senão dahi a alguns dias; nos quaes nos fomos entretendo, pondonos á vista de hũas povoações por ver se nos queriaõ vender algũas vacas, o que fizeraõ mais por temor, que vontade por lhas irmos comprar dentro ás mesmas povoaçoens já desesperados para que quando nolas não quizessem vender, lhas tomassemos por força.

Aqui indo eu a hũa povoação em companhia de Antonio Godinho depois de termos comprado duas, ou tres vacas, vendo que não havia mais que fazer me vim para o arrayal, que à vista de nós estava. E depois de ter andado hum pedaço virey para tras, & vendo que não vinhaõ ainda os companheyros, me assentey á sua vista, esperando, elles viessem, ficandome nas costas hum feno muyto alto, por entre o qual veyho hum Cafre muy acachado, & se abraçou comigo por detras, pegandome na espingarda com huma mão pelo couce, & outra na ponta, ficando eu entre elle, & a espingarda, andando hum grande espaço ás lutas comigo. E acordeyme, que trazia hũa faca, & a arranquey chamando por nossa Senhora da Conceyção, porque me vi sem alento nenhum, por ter o Cafre muyta força, & lhe fuy dando com a faca atè que me largou a espingarda, a qual meti logo no rosto, & indo para a disparar cahi no chaõ de fraqueza, & lhe não pude atirar, se não quando já hia longe, & ainda assim o tratey mal, & depois lhe apanhey a sua capa de pelles, que trazia embrulhada no braço, & a deyxou com a pressa. Todos estes Cafres usaõ de capas, que lhe daõ por bayxo do quadril de pelles muy bem adobadas de animaes pequenos de fermoso pelo, & segundo a qualidade do Cafre se vestem com melhores pelles huns que outros, & nisto tem muyto ponto; & não trazem mais vestido, que estas capas, & hũa pelle mais galante, com que cobrem as vergonhas, & eu vi a hum Cafre grave huma capa toda de Martas Zebelinas, & perguntando-lhe onde havia aquelles animaes, disse, que pela terra dentro havia tanta quantidade delles, que todos em geral se vestiaõ de suas pelles. Tambem achey no chão duas azagayas, & hum páosinho de grossura de hum dedo, & de dous palmos & meyo de comprido, forrado do meyo por diante com hum rabo de buzio, o qual pào costumaõ trazer quasi em toda a Cafraria atè o rio de Lourenço Marquez, & não costumaõ fallar sem o trazerem, porque todas as suas praticas são apon-tando com este pào na mão, a que chamão sua boca, & fazendo esgares, & meneos. Os companheyros vinhão chegando, & vendo o que me acontecèra apressarão o passo cuydando ficára eu maltratado do successo, & nos viemos todos ao arrayal, o que estava esperando por nós com muyto alvoroço pelas vacas, que estavam vendo lhes traziamos.

Estando nós neste mesmo posto, dahi a dous dias chegou hum negro dos nossos, que tinha ficado na companhia de Lopo de

Sousa, ao qual se foy o Capitão, & sem ninguem lhe dizer nada, pegando nelle lhe disse: O' cão, quem matou os Portuguezes? confessa-o senão hey te de mandar enforcar logo; o negro ficou trespassado, & disse, que elle não era culpado em taes mortes, nem nenhum dos nossos, que com elle ficáraõ. Pasmamos de o Capitão fazer aquella pergunta sem saber nova alguma da dita gente, & lhe perguntámos quem lhe dissera tal nova, ao que respondeo, que havia dous dias, que andava sempre com a imaginação naquella gente; & que sempre o coração lhe dissera, que os negros, que com elles ficarão os tinham mortos, & por isso fizera a tal pergunta. Disse mais este negro, que os Cafres da terra matarão em huma noyte a Gaspar Fixa, & a Pedro de Duenhas, & ao sobrinho do contramestre Manoel Alvarez, por lhes tomarem hum caldeyrão, & que os nossos negros seus compa-nheyros ficarão em outra povoação mais abayxo apartados dos Portuguezes. E perguntando-lhe como ficava Lopo de Sousa, disse, que quando de lá partira havia tres dias, que estava sem falla, & sem duvida morreria no derradeyro que o vio, & que Beatriz Alvarez mulher de Luis d'Affonseca ficava muyta doente feyta lazara, de maneyra que se não podia bolir, & as outras pessoas muyto mortas de fome, que por não terem forças para poderem andar, não vierão com elle, & sem duvida serão todas mortas. O Capitão o mandou olhar, & achando-lhe pessas de ouro, & diamantes, que conhecêrão ser dos Portuguezes, que lá ficáraõ, mandou tivessem tento nelle, com fundamento de o mandar matar de noyte, o que elle não aguardou, porque dahi a pouco espaço vimos vir dous moços de sua companhia, & como elle os conhecesse temendo descobrissem a verdade fogio, & os dous que digo em chegando forão logo prezos, & dando-lhe tratos confessarão o seguinte, dizendo, que depois de nós apartados de Lopo de Sousa, dahi a tres dias chegou àquelle mesmo lugar hum Rey Cafre, o qual trazia quarenta vacas, & disse, que era o que atras tinha promettido vir com ellas ao Capitão, pelo qual perguntára; & dizendo-lhe como era partido, & que estivera esperando por elle, & como vira, que não viera no tempo, que promettera, se fora: Respõdeo elle, que por causa das enchentes de hũs rios não pudera vir mais cedo, & perguntou se nos poderia ainda encontrar, ao qual disseraõ, que não, por haver muytos dias que eramos partidos, mas que alli ficaraõ dous ranchos de gente sua, hum de Portuguezes, & outro de negros, & que tinham

dinheyro com que lhes podiaõ comprar algũas vacas. Respondeo, que folgava muyto, porque para isso as trazia de taõ longe, & logo os Portuguezes compráraõ tres vacas, & os negros quatro, & pediraõ ao Rey, que se não fosse com as que lhe ficavaõ, que depois daquellas comidas lhe comprariaõ mais. Ao que respondeo, que por alli não haver bõs pastos dava hũa volta, & tornaria dalli a seis, ou sete dias com ellas para lhes vender as que houvessem mister. Neste tempo foy o rancho dos Portuguezes comendo as que tinhaõ comprado, & faltandolhes se foy Gaspar Fixa abayxo a outra povoação aonde estava o outro dos nossos negros, & que ainda tinhaõ duas vacas vivas, & lhes pedio matassem hũa daquellas vacas, & lhes emprestassem ametade, que logo em tornando os Cafres comprariaõ com que satisfazer, o que elles fizeraõ logo com facilidade, matando hũa dellas, & dando-lhe o que pedia. Dahi a dous dias vieraõ os Cafres, & se proveraõ todos de vacas, & querendo os negros lhes pagassem o que tinhaõ emprestado, lho foraõ pedir em hum dia, em que os Portuguezes tinhaõ morto hũa vaquinha muyto pequena: & respondeo-lhe Gaspar Fixa, que elles tinhaõ morto o que viaõ, q̃ por ser pequeno quinhaõ, a respeyto do que elles lhe tinhão dado, lho não davão, mas que esperassem dous dias, que era o tempo em que elles a podiaõ comer, & que logo lhes dariaõ ametade da mayor que alli tinhaõ: disserão os negros, que a matassem logo, & lhes pagassem; ao que Gaspar Fixa replicou, que entãõ lhes ficaria a carne perdendo-se, & vendo, que não se aquietavão com estas razões, agastado com reposta taõ desavergonhada, & atrevida, deu hũa bofetada em hum negro Chingalà que era a cabeça dos outros chamando-lhe caõ, & outros roins nomes, & elles se foraõ. E fazendo Gaspar Fixa, & os outros companheyros pouco caso do acontecido, estando de noyte dormindo na sua povoação vieraõ os nossos negros com algumas azagayas, que pelo caminho tinhaõ tomado aos Cafres, que vinhamos matãdo á espingarda, & mandando hũ diante pedir lume para que lhe abrissem a porta, a qual lhe abriraõ, naõ se lembrando do que lhes podia acontecer, & entrando todos juntos matáraõ quantos na casa de palha estavam, tirando Lopo de Sousa, que estava no estado, que tenho dito, & os mortos saõ os que já atras nomeey. Tambem deraõ por novas que Beatriz Alvrez ficava no mesmo estado, que o outro tinha contado. Disseraõ tambem mais estes dous negros, que elles se não acháraõ em tal obra,

& que a cabeça destas maldades era já morto, que o matára o negro, que primeyro tinha chegado, o qual era já fugido.

Ficámos sentidissimos com tal nova, vendo, que só nos faltava levantarem-se os nossos negros contra nòs, & demos todos graças a Deos, pedindo-lhe misericordia. O Capitão os mandou logo enforcar aquelle dia, os quaes não chegáram a pela manhã a estar na forca, por causa das muytas fomes, que então padeciámos, & foraõ comidos escondidamente dos negros do nosso arrayal, & de quem o não era tambem, o que se dissimulava, & senão fazia caso disso. E eu vi muytas vezes de noyte pelo arrayal muytas espetadas de carne, que cheyravão excellentissimamente a carne de porco, de maneyra que alevantandome á vigia, me disse Gregorio de Vidanha meu cõpanheyro, que visse que carne era aquella, que os nossos moços estavaõ assando, que cheyrava muyto bem. Fuy ver, & perguntando-o a hum dos moços, me respondeo, que se queria comer, que era cousa excellente, & que punha muyta força, & conhecendo eu que era carne humana me fuy, & dissimuley com elles. Por aqui pôde V. M. ver, a que miserias foy Deos servido, que chegássemos, tudo por meus peccados.

Dahi a dous dias estando nòs neste mesmo lugar, mandou o Capitão enforcar hum mancebo Portuguez criado do contramestre por o acharem resgatando cousas de comer com hum pedaço de arco de ferro que tinha tomado do alforge do Sotapiloto, & tambem por ter fugido para os Cafres, sendo moço forte, & que podia ser de utilidade á companhia, que realmente em meyo de tantas miserias nos acabavão de consumir estes excessos de crueldades, sem embargo, que he necessario usar dellas quem houver de governar homens do mar, mas não por modo tão demasiado. Este pobre pedia o mandassem enterrar por não ser comido, mas não lhe valeo seu peditorio, porque dando lugar ao poderem fazer os mossos, que andavão muyto fracos, & mortos de fome, o mandou o Capitão lançar no mato, os quaes tiveraõ bom cuydado de lhe darem a sepultura, que costumavaõ dar aos outros, que morriaõ.

Logo ao outro dia mandou o Capitão a tres pessoas passassem este desaventurado rio, que tanto nos custou a sua passagem, & que andassem da outra banda, vendo que terra era, & se havia vacas, & vissem se os negros tinhaõ noticia de nòs, o que fizeraõ com muyto cuydado, & vindo dahi a dous dias muyto contentes

pedirão alviçaras ao Capitão, & perguntando elle a Joaõ Ribeyro que era o principal, se queria huma peça que valesse trezentos cruzados, respondeo, que não, que antes queria que lhe fizesse merce de lhe dar todos os corações das vacas, que dahi por diante se matassem no arrayal, para elle, & para o calafate seu companheyro, o q̃ o Capitão lhe concedeo. Veja V. M. quão pouco se estimava então tudo por precioso que fosse, a respeyto do comer. Depois q̃ se lhe fez este prometimento, disse, q̃ da outra banda do rio dahi a quatro legoas havia muytas povoações todas com muytas vacas, & que a gente dellas parecia boa, que estavam desejosos que passassemos para nos venderem do seu gado, & que lhe fizeraõ bom gasalhado. Esta foy para nós muyto grande nova por não termos atè então sabido cousa algũa do que lá havia, & tambem porque guardavamos algũas vacas para levar para a outra banda para as irmos comendo quando lá as não houvesse, & com estes temores faziamos esta provisão, que nos custava muyto, porque por essa causa comiamos muyto menos.

Com estas novas fomos chegando ao rio, passando pela povoação aonde atraz disse lhes mataramos muytas pessoas, & achamos os negros de todo aquelle Concam postos em armas, que nos perseguiaõ a retaguarda, indo passando, com muytas azagayadas, & pedradas, mas quiz Deos nos não fez mal nenhuma de quantas atiraraõ. Nelle achamos a jangada, que fizemos a primeyra vez, que alli estivemos cuydando nos dèsse lugar de o passar a corrente das aguas, & como achamos este aparelho nos foy facil a passagem, antes da qual tivemos huma fartura por matarmos as vacas, que já disse poupavamos para a outra banda, supposto nos haverem promettido, que la as havia. Passado o rio, em que puzemos dous dias, fomos caminhando por huma serra acima muyto ingreme, que julgáraõ ser de altura mais de tres legoas, porque começando de andar por ellas ás onze horas não chegamos ao cume senaõ á noyte fechada; aonde ficámos decendo por hum modo de valle, em que achamos agua, mas não foy possivel fazerse de comer, por ser já muyto tarde. E ao outro dia em amanhecendo caminhamos em busca das povoações, às quaes chegámos ao meyo dia. Os Cafres dellas se chegáraõ a nós com tres touros muyto grandes, & velhos, porque estes nos costumam vender tanto, que não prestavaõ para fazer filhos, & outras vacas deste teor; com tudo haviamos, que nos faziaõ muyta mercè. E porque ainda lhes não tinhamos mostrado a estes

negros o para que prestavão nossas armas, me mandou o Capitão tirar á espingarda a hum dos touros, que lhes tinhamos comprado, o que fiz, & elles vendo-o morto fizeram os espantos costumados. Aqui estivemos esta tarde comendo-o, & esperando nos trouxessem mais a vender, & vendo que o não faziaõ, nos fomos caminhando pela manhã, & elles nos vierão seguindo a retaguarda ao decer da serra, na qual por ser muyto ingreme, nos puderaõ fazer muyto dano, de que Deos nos livrou.

Seguindo nosso caminho fomos por entre aldeas até o meyo dia, & jantámos por cima de hum rio, ao qual lugar nos trouxeraõ a vender dous boys, & hum delles por ser bravo se matou á espingarda, de que jantámos. Fomos dormir aquella noyte por cima de tres povoações, que ficavão em hũa ladeyra, & tomando falla da gente della nos disseraõ, que dahi a quatro dias não haviamos de achar povoações, & que se queriamos vacas, que esperassemos dous dias, ao que respondemos, que não podiamos esperar, que se quizessem vendelas viessem pela manhã, porq̃ nos haviamos de partir logo em amanhecendo, como fizemos. E tendo andado hum pedaço da manhã nos sahirão ao encontro hũs poucos de Cafres bem armados de azagayas cuydando nos fizessem algũ assalto, os quaes nos venderaõ hũa vaca muyto brava, & depois de cobrarem o porque a venderão, fugirão, & a vaca fez o mesmo. Mas nós lançámos maõ de hum dos Cafres, & amarrado o trouxemos hum pouco com nosco para ver se nos traziaõ a vaca, que nos havião levado, o que fizeraõ logo, vindo juntamente hum Cafre muyto grande, desculpando o furto, que os seus Cafres nos pretendiaõ fazer.

Continuando nossa viagem por serras menos montuosas afastados da praya tres, ou quatro legoas, chegámos a hũa ribeyra muyto fermosa, em a qual nos trouxeraõ a vender muytas frutas do tamanho, & feyçaõ de frutas novas, mas sem caroços, as quaes tinhamos já atras comido, mas alli em mais quantidade. Depois conhecendo-se o grande mal, que estas frutas continuamente nos faziaõ, trabalhou o Capitaõ muyto pelo evitar, mandando lançar pregões com penas rigurosas, o que nunca pode fazer pelas grandes fomes que padeciamos. Aqui achámos hum Jáo da perdição de Nuno Velho Pereyra, o qual era já muyto velho, & fallava mal, & com muytas lagrimas beijou os Crucifixos, que traziamos, & fazendo o sinal da Cruz. Confesso a V. M. que foy para mim notavel alegria ver em terras tão remotas, & entre

gente tão barbara hum homem, que conhecia a Deos, & os instrumentos, & figuras da payxão de Christo. Este nos contou como Nuno Velho se perdera em hũa praya abayxo, que será jornada de hum dia: & porque elle ficára muyto maltratado dos olhos, & com as pernas feridas, se deyxára logo alli ficar. Advertionos de muytas cousas, que com os Cafres haviamos de usar, dizendo-nos, que dahi a quatro dias de caminho achariamos hum negro Malavar, que tambem tinha escapado da propria perdição, & dahi a nove, ou dez achariamos hum Cafre por nome Jorge tambem da mesma, & que na propria povoação onde o Cafre vivia estava hum Portuguez natural de São Gonçalo de Amarante, que se chamava Diogo, o qual estava casado, & com filhos.

E porque meu companheyro Gregorio de Vidanha vinha já muyto cansado, determinou de se ficar com este Jão por não acertar de lhe ser necessario fazelo em algum mato, & deserto, como atras teve feyto por muytas vezes, o que foy para nòs de sentimento, & perda por ser a pessoa, que atras tenho dito. O Rey desta comarca veyo ver o Capitaõ muy authorizado, trazendo hũ fermoso carneyro de sinco quartos para lhe comprarem, & pedio por elle mais do que custava hũa grande vaca. E vendo nòs o pouco, que nos remediavamos com hum carneyro a respeyto da vaca, que podiamos comprar, com o que por elle pediaõ, disse-mos, que nos mandassem vir vacas, que não queriamos carneyro, & assim o fizeraõ trazendo logo tres, & determinando de nos fazer algum engano, & furto, nos venderaõ hũa vaca, & como tiveraõ a valia della na maõ, botáraõ a fugir com a vaca. Mas nòs fizemos preza em hum delles, & querendo-o matar, disse o Jão o não fizessemos, que elle traria logo a váca, & que estes negros nos não conheciaõ, & por esse respeyto fizeraõ isto, & que elle vinha logo com ella, pedindonos se não descompuzesse ninguem, o que fez com presteza. E vendo quam má gente era esta, nos fomos logo daqui, deyxando Gregorio de Vidanha em casa do proprio Jão, & hum marinheyro, que se chamava Francisco Rodrigues Machado em sua companhia, aos quaes demos cousas, que alli valiaõ, que elles logo esconderaõ para comprarem algũa vaca de leyte, ou outra cousa, que os sustentasse atè vir a novidade do milho, que entaõ estava verde.

Passando pelo meyo desta povoação nos viemos fazendo nosso caminho, no qual ficou tambem Cypriano Dias, & à nossa vista o roubáraõ. Depois todos os Cafres desta povoação juntos nos

vieraõ com grandes gritas perseguindo a retaguarda com muytas pedradas, & azagayadas. E vendo o dano, que nos podiaõ fazer por serem muytos me deyxey ficar com oyto companheyros, & vindo-se elles chegando lhes tirey com a espingarda, & caindo hum paráraõ todos fazendo roda, & nos deyxáraõ de perseguir, cobrando tal medo do estouro da espingarda, que muytas vezes vindonos assim seguindo lhe sahiaõ dous homẽs com fundas, que para isso fizeraõ, & como estrallo, que ellas davaõ se botavaõ no chaõ. Desde aqui viemos caminhando por terras muyto faltas de mantimentos, atè que no cabo de quatro dias decendo hũa serra dẽmos em hũa povoação aonde a vanguarda, que chegou mais cedo gritou passando a palavra, dizendo estava alli hum Canarim de Bradès, ao que apressamos o passo, & chegando todos, vimos que era o Malavar que o Jão atras nos tinha dito, o qual se veyo a nõs com muytas mostras de alegria, dizendo: Venhais embora minha Christandade, & que ficassemos alli, que elle nos negocearia o que houvessemos mister, & que aquelles Cafres já sabiaõ havia dous dias como vinhamos, & lhe tinhão dito, que comiamos gente, os quaes estavaõ armados: mas depois ao outro dia conhecendo ser tudo mentira, nos veyo ver o Rey muyto anojado por haver pouco, que seu pay era morto, & nos vendeo quatro vacas a rogo do Malavar, o qual nos trouxe a mostrar suas filhas, que eraõ as mais fermosas negras, que alli havia, & perguntando-lhe quãtas mulheres tinha, disse que duas, das quaes tinha vinte filhos, doze machos, & oyto femeas. Perguntamos-lhe porque se não vinha com nosco pois era Christaõ, respondeo, que como podia elle trazer vinte filhos comsigo, & que era casado com hũa irmaã do Rey, & tinha gados de que vivia, que ainda que elle o quizesse fazer, o não deyxariaõ os parentes de suas mulheres, nem a nõs nos vinha bem trazellos em nossa companhia, pelo dano, que dahi nos podia vir, que elle que era Christaõ, & que Deos se lembraria de sua alma. Pedio-nos humas contas, que logo lhe demos, & beyjando a Cruz com lagrimas as lançou ao pescoço.

Aqui nos ficáraõ tres moças casadas com tres Cafres nossos, as duas Cafras, & huma Jaoa. E ao outro dia fazendo nosso caminho nos veyo acompanhando o Malavar hum grande pedaço, & com muytos abraços, & mostras de sentimento nos disse, que tinhamos muyto caminho para andar cheyo de serras altissimas, & se foy embora. Os Cafres daquella povoação, que era grande nos não

fizerão mal nenhum, & por isso lhe chamámos a terra dos amigos. Andámos mais tres dias, em espaço dos quaes achámos pouca gente, & nenhuma povoação, & no fim delles hum dia à tarde vimos de longe andar hũs poucos de carneyros pastando, & por ser já tarde não passamos dali, mas mandámos descobrir o que ao diante havia para pela manhaã nos aproveytarmos do resgate, que vinhamos fazendo. E vindo as pessoas, que tinhaõ ido saber o que havia, disseraõ, que por ser tarde naõ viraõ mais que muytos fogos, & em varias partes berrar muyto gado, & sendo manhaã nos subimos em hũa serra, & vimos muytas povoações em partes muyto fragosas, & desviadas do rumo, que hiamos seguindo; mas logo veyo a nòs hum Cafre, & nos disse, que para todas as partes tinhamos povoações, tirando donde vinhamos, & nos enculcou hũas, que ficavaõ no caminho, que nòs haviamos de fazer. E vindo com nosco vimos em hũa ladeyra duas grandes povoações cheas de muytas vacas, & com alguns carneyros, & nos pareceo esta gente mais pulida, & farta. Aqui nos venderaõ hũa vaca, & depois se queriaõ arrepender de o ter feyto, & conhecendo nòs isto, lhe atiráraõ á espingarda, o que elles sentiraõ, & ao que a vendeo lhe deu muyta pancada hum seu irmão mais velho, porque senaõ aconselhára com elles. Estas duas povoações tinhaõ suas sementeyras de milho, & abobaras as quaes nos venderaõ, & nos souberaõ muyto bem.

Depois de alli termos jantado fomos dormir por cima de huma povoação, aonde nos venderaõ tres vacas, & aquella foy a primeyra onde vimos hũa galinha, que nos naõ quizeraõ vender. E caminhando dous dias por entre valles, donde havia muytas sementeyras de milho, que naõ estava ainda para se poder comer, nos vieraõ vender ao caminho algũas galinhas; & chegando a hũa aldea, aonde nos disseraõ estava o seu Anguose, que assim chamaõ ao Rey naquellas partes, resgatámos nella algumas galinhas, que bastáraõ para dar a cada duas pessoas hũa. Aqui nos deyxámos estar aquelle dia esperando nos trouxessem vacas, porque tinhamos já muyta necessidade dellas, & em fim nos venderaõ hum pouco de milho velho, & leyte, & duas vacas. E ao outro dia nos fomos decendo a hum rio, ao qual puzemos nome das formigas, por nelle haver tantas, & tão grandes, que nos naõ podiamos valer com ellas, no qual estivemos dous dias, & ao terceyro o passámos em hũa jangada, que fizemos.

Ao primeyro dia de Fevereyro de 623 começámos a caminhar

da outra banda deste rio por hũa serra altissima com immensa chuva, que nos durou muytos dias, & naquelle mesmo nos fomos alojar ainda de dia em huma ladeyra pegado a hũas povoações, em que não havia mais, que algũas abobaras, & poucas galinhas, de que resgatamos algũa parte. Aqui nos deraõ por novas, que adiante pouco espaço achariamos muyta fartura, o que festejámos muyto por irmos sem cousa alguma de comer, & se nos faltára mais dous dias, acabaramos todos de fome se Deos nos não socorrera, porque aqui nos ficáraõ hũ marinheyro, que chamavão Motta, & hum Italiano por nome Joseph Pedemassole, & hum passageyro, que era manco, & o filho de Dona Ursula, que foy cousa lastimosa, o qual se chamava Christovão de Mello, & seria de onze annos bem ensinado, & entendido, que vinha já taõ mirrado, que não parecia senão a figura da morte, sendo-o elle de hum Anjo antes destes trabalhos. Como viraõ, que este minino nos não podia acompanhar, fizeraõ ir a mãy diante, & elle ficou atras como costumava por não poder andar tanto, & como vio, que nos não podia acompanhar, disse, que se queria confessar, o que fez, & depois pedio ao Capitão pelas chagas de Christo lhe mandasse chamar sua mãy, que se queria despedir della, ao que o Capitão disse, que não podia ser porque hia longe, & o minino se queyxava, dizendo: Basta senhor que me nega V.M. esta consolação? Elle dizendo-lhe palavras de amor o foy trazendo pela mão atè que não pode andar mais, & ficou como pasmado, & nõs nos fomos todos chorando, & he de crer, que se a mãy o vira, arrebetára com tam grande dor, & por esse respeyto lhe tolheo o Capitão, que não visse a mãy.

A dous dias de Fevreyro dia de nossa Senhora das Candeas, caminhando desde pela manhaã fomos jantar a hum fermoso bosque, ao qual atravessava hum rego de agua. Aqui nos trouxeraõ a vender sete cabras, com as quaes nos fomos por ver se podiamos chegar a humas aldeas onde nos disseraõ havia muyto mantimento, & como a chuva era muyto grande, não nos deu lugar para andarmos tanto, & fomos dormir aonde nos estavaõ esperando hũs poucos de Cafres com balayos cheyos de milho, que depois de resgatado se repartio por todos, & coube a cada pessoa hum copo de milho, & das seis cabras, que tambem se matárão, coube a cada hum seu pedacinho, & o que levou a pelle ficou de melhor partido.

Ao outro dia chegámos ás povoaçoens da desejada fartura, aonde

logo nos vieraõ vender muytas cabras, & vacas, & bolos taõ grandes como queyjos de Framengos, & tanto milho, que depois o não podemos levar todo. Aqui mandou o Capitaõ matar dezoyto cabras, & hũa vaca, & nos couberaõ seis arrateis a cada hum. Tambem acodiraõ tantas galinhas, que deraõ huma a cada pessoa, & foy tanto o comer, que houveramos de morrer todos se nos não dera em camaras. Ao outro dia nos veyo visitar o Manamuze daquelles lugares, & trouxe hum touro muyto grande de saguate, o qual me mandou o Capitaõ matasse à espingarda, para que a ouvissem, porque trazia muyta gente comsigo, & porque tambem vissem as armas, que traziamos; & como viraõ cair o touro morto atirando-lhe de muyto longe, botou o Rey a fugir de maneyra que foy necessario mandarlhe dizer, que aquillo se fazia por festa de nos elle ter vindo ver, que tornasse, senão que o Capitaõ havia de ir buscallo. Ouvindo estas razões tornou a vir, mas tal, que de negro que era se tornou branco. O Capitão lhe botou ao pescoço hũa fechadura de hum escritorio dourada, & lhe deu hũa aza de hum caldeyraõ, & foraõ estas pessas delle bem estimadas; & com boas palavras, & mostras de agradecimento se foy, & nõs ficãmos repartindo o milho, & bolos, que tinhamos resgatado, que eraõ dous grandes montes. E depois de tomarmos quanto cada hum podia levar, nos fomos, deyxando ainda algum por se não poder levar mais, & caminhãmos por cima de serras, pelas ladeyras, das quaes havia tantas, & tão fermosas povoações, que era huma fermosura de ver a muyta quantidade de gado, que dellas sahia; & traziaõ-nos ao caminho muyto leyte a vender, o qual era todo azedo por os Cafres o não comerem de outro modo.

Ao meyo dia fomos assentar o arrayal em hum fresco rio, que estava em hum valle, no qual acodiraõ muytos Cafres, & todos traziaõ que nos vender, da outra banda do qual fizemos o resgate na fórma, que costumavamos apartado das tendas com gente de guarda, & aqui se fez com mais segurança por acodirem mais Cafres do que nunca tinhamos visto, & foy tanta a quantidade delles, que se sobiaõ muytos por cima das arvores só para nos verem, principalmente em cima de tres, a cujos pès se fazia o resgate por ficarmos amparados do Sol, que fazia, que não sey como não quebrãraõ com taõ grande pezo; & por certo, que se podia fazer hum paynel daquelle sitio, & concurso de gente. Aqui estivemos atè a tarde, & depois resgatãmos quinze vacas, &

muytos bolos, com que todos ficámos mais carregados, & aqui nos ficou huma moça de Beatriz Alvrez, & outras quatro pessoas de empachadas com o muyto comer, das quaes tres nos tornàrão acompanhar. E fazendo nosso caminho fomos dormir em huma queymada, ao pè da qual corria hũ rego de boa agua, que bastou para nos matar a sede, & ao outro dia à tarde assentámos à vista de duas povoações, que estavaõ em huma ladeyra, & os negros dellas nos trouxeraõ a mostrar todas as vacas que nellas havia, & não nos querendo vender nenhuma, se nos deu pouco disso, porque trazíamos algũas vinte com nosco. Caminhando outro dia fomos passar a calma em huma ribeyra, que estava em huma vargeasinha cuberta de arvores, debayxo das quaes estivemos.

Aqui veyo ter o Cafre, que o Jão nos tinha dito, & fallando Portuguez nos disse: Beyjô as mãos de vossas mercès, eu tambem sou Portuguez; & nos contou como em huma povoação, que estava diante por onde havíamos de passar estava hum Portuguez, que se chamava Diogo, & era natural de São Gonçalo de Amarante. Ao que disse o Capitaõ se queria vir connosco, & elle respondeo, que o não haviaõ de deyxar ir os Cafres, porque lhes dava chuva quando faltava, & que era já velho, & tinha filhos; & rindo-nos do que lhe ouviamos nos disse, que elle nos mostraria a sua casa. Alli resgatamos muytas galinhas, & bolos, leyte, & manteyga crua, & algumas canas de assucar. Este Cafre nos pedio hum panomantas, que logo lhe deraõ, & elle ficando contente disse em voz alta para onde estavaõ muytos Cafres com suas molheres na sua lingua: Cafres moradores desta terra trazey a vender aos Portuguezes, que agora aqui estaõ, & que são senhores do mundo, & do mar, todas as cousas que tiverdes de comer, nomeando-as por seus nomes, aproveytayvos dos thesouros, que trazem comsigo, olhay que vem comendo em cousa, que vòs outros trazeis por joyas nas orelhas, & nos braços, chamando-lhes bestas pois não acodiaõ todos depressa com o que tinhão. Depois de termos feyto o resgate, & comido, nos fomos pondo em ordem para marchar, & antes que o fizessesmos nos furtou hum Cafre hũ tachosinho, mas nòs pegámos logo doutro, ao qual deu Thomè Coelho huma cutilada pela cabeça, & o prendemos, & indo nòs andando nos mandáraõ o que nos tinha tomado, & logo seguimos nosso caminho, largando o que tinhamos preso, subindo hũa serra, decima da qual se descobriaõ

muytas aldeas, entre as quaes estava hũa muyto grande, a qual nos mostrou o Cafre, que atraz digo, & nos disse: Aquella Cidade he do Portuguez. E indo-nos chegando mais à dita povoação, na qual vimos huma casa de quatro aguas de palha, cousa que não tínhamos visto em todo este caminho, porque as outras todas eraõ mais pequenas, & redondas, insistimos com o Cafre o fosse chamar, o qual nos disse, que nos não cançassemos, que não havia de vir.

Fizemos daqui nosso caminho, & com muyta chuva fomos dormir em hum alto, & nesta noyte se foy o Cafre, que atè entãõ nos tinha acompanhado; & como já sabia o como vinhamos, voltou aquella mesma noyte por entre hum mato, que nos ficava nas costas do arrayal, & levantando a ponta de huma tenda aonde elle vira guardar hum arcabuz, o apanhou, & fez isto com tanta sutileza, que ninguem o sentio estando todos acordados por causa da chuva, que havia dous dias não cessava tendonos molhado quanto traziamos, & pela manhaã achando-se menos o arcabuz logo entendemos quem o levàra. Querendo nos ir por diante, no lo não consentio a continua chuva, & nos deyxamos ficar mais hum dia, no qual nos trouxeraõ a resgatar alguns bolos, & cabras, & hum feroso touro. E vendo, que se não acabava a chuva, antes parecia vinha cada vez com mais furia, caminhâmos o dia seguinte atè a tarde, que chegâmos a hum rio grande, junto do qual nos alojamos em parte alta, de maneyra que nos ficava perto a lenha, & a agua, & para nos enxugarmos fizemos grandes fogueyras, que duraraõ toda a noyte, & pondo as vigias costumadas no quarto da prima rendido sendo doze de Fevreyro nos deraõ os Cafres hum assalto, tomando-nos por tres partes. Ao que acodio toda a gente, tomando as espingardas as quaes estavão muyto molhadas por haver tres dias, que continuamente chovia, & vendo, que não podiaõ fazer obra com ellas, gritey as metessem assim no fogo, como estavão para se descarregarem da polvora que tinhão dentro, o que fizeraõ todos; & em quanto isto tardou nos tiveraõ quasi desalojados donde estavamos com notaveis alaridos, & assubios, que parecia o inferno, & nos mataraõ Manoel Alvrez, & hum bombardeyro, que se chamava fulano Carvalho, os quaes morreraõ logo, & nos feriraõ sessenta pessoas muyto mal, dos quaes morreo Antonio Borges ao outro dia. Como tivemos as espingardas quentes, fomos matando nelles, & o primeyro que isto fez foy hum marinheyro, que se

chamava Manoel Gonçalves, & isto se conheceo por atirar a primeyra espingardada. E como os Cafres viraõ o muyto dano, que lhes faziamos, fugiraõ, dos quaes ficou grande rasto de sangue, & quiz a Virgem Maria da Conceyção, que deyxou de chover em quanto pelejamos, que foy espaço grande, & aclarou o luar de maneyra, que foy grande parte para nos não destruirem.

Todo o resto daquella noyte estivemos postos em vigia, & subimos mais acima o arrayal a parte mais forte, & ficámos taõ mal tratados, que pouco bastàra para nos acabar a todos. Estes Cafres pelejaõ com melhor modo do que os outros atraz, porque usaõ de humas rodellas à maneyra de adargas de couro de bufaras do mato, as quaes são fortes, & cobrindo-se com ellas atiraõ infinitas azagayas, de que ficou cuberto o arrayal, & foy tanta a quantidade, que se achàraõ ao outro dia, que só de ferro foraõ quinhentas & trinta, a fora muytas, que arrancando-lhe os ferros os esconderaõ para resgatarem com elles: as de pão tostado forão tantas, que se não puderaõ contar, & faziaõ tanto dano como as outras. Logo pela manhaã nos entrincheyramos, & se puzeraõ em cura os feridos, que foraõ tantos, que ninguem escapou que o não fosse, ou de azagaya, ou de pedradas, & fizeraõ-se as mayores curas, que eu nunca vi, porque havia muytos atravessados pelos peytos de banda a banda, & pelas coxas, & cabeças quebradas, & nenhũ delles morreo, & só com tutanos de vacas eraõ curados. Ao Capitaõ Pero de Moraes passáraõ hum braço pelo sangradouro.

Aqui estivemos dous dias, em os quaes fez o carpinteyro Vicente Esteves hũa jangada a modo de batel, na qual remavaõ quatro remos. E neste tempo os proprios que nos roubáraõ nos vieraõ vender galinhas, & bolos, & pombe, que he hum vinho, que fazem de milho, & nõs dissimulando com elles fazendo que os não conheciãmos, lhes compravamos o que haviamos mister. Da outra banda do rio nos vieraõ tambem vender o mesmo, passando o rio em huns pãos, & emcima de hũas forquilhas, que ficavaõ da agua mais altas, aonde traziaõ dependurada a mercadoria. Estes nos perguntáraõ porque razãõ lhes matãmos tanta gente, & contando-lhes nõs o que nos tinha acontecido, disseraõ, que nos passassemos para a outra banda, porque naquella havia mà gente, & que elles nos ensinariaõ por onde se passava o rio dahi a tres dias, que eraõ mayores as aguas, & ficava menos

agua; & nós antes disso passamos na jangada duas pessoas, & depois indo nella Rodrigo Affonso, & Antonio Godinho, & o Padre Frey Bento da Ordem de São Francisco, & outras pessoas, se virou antes de chegar là, & estiverão quasi afogados, & o Padre largou o habito, que levava despido, no qual se perdeu muyta pedraria, que era de deposito, que na sua mão se fazia de arroz, que se tinha comprado, & davaõ diamantes de penhor, & outros, que lhe entregãõ muytas pessoas, que ficãõ pelo caminho, & outras, que morrerãõ. E no dia, que os Cafres tinhaõ dito, passamos o rio mais por cima, ao qual puzemos nome, Rio do sangue. Nelle ficãõ quatro companheyros, & aqui vimos os primeyros elefantes, hum de huma banda, & outro de outra. Ao outro dia depois de passarmos morreo o Padre Manoel de Sousa.

Daqui fomos marchando dous dias por dentro de duas legoas da praya, no fim dos quaes viemos dar em hũ rio, que parecia alagoa, & tinha a boca na praya, na qual vimos andar hũ elefante com hũ filho, & recolhendo-se a retaguarda mais tarde encontrou com muytos elefantes, os quaes não atentavão em nós, nem em toda esta jornada nos fizeraõ mal nenhum. E passando este rio pela boca delle com a agua pela garganta, fomos caminhando sempre pela praya atè chegarmos a outro, que tinha muytos penedos grandes na boca, aonde não pudemos passar por ser muyto alto; & sobindo hum outeyro ingreme vimos andar huns Cafres, que nos disserãõ nos ensinariaõ a passagem, & dando-lhes huns pedacinhos de cobre, nos passaraõ os mininos, & muytas pessoas, que vinhão doentes. Esta gente daqui por diante he já melhor, & puzemos-lhe por nome os Naunetas, por dizerem quando nos encontrãõ, Naunetas, que em sua lingua quer dizer, venhais embora, à qual cortesia se respondia, Alaba, que quer dizer, & vòs tambem. Aqui nos venderãõ muyto peyxe, & nos ajudavaõ a levar a carga, que os nossos negros levavaõ, cantando, & tangendo as palmas.

Fomos daqui dormir na borda da praya, aonde nos veyo ver o Rey da terra, a que chamaõ Manamuze, o qual era mancebo, & vinha muyto autorizado com tres collares de lataõ no pescoço, que he o que naquellas partes se estimava mais, & vendo-o o Capitãõ lhe levou hũa campainha de prata, a qual para elle não tinha comparação sua valia, & tomando a sua roupeta vermelha de escarlata, se chegou aonde o Rey estava esperando; fizeraõ

suas cortesias, não perdendo o Cafre de seu brio nada, mas depois que o Capitão vio o seu modo, começou a bolir com o corpo fazendo tanger a campanha, ao que todos ficàrão pasmados, & o Rey se não pode ter que se não descompuzesse, tomando-a na mão, & olhando, que era o que tinha dentro, que a fazia tanger, & bolindo com ella, & tangendo deu grandes rizadas, & nunca em quanto alli esteve tirou os olhos della. He cousa de notar como estes brutos pelo seu modo são venerados, & como suas gerações, & familias são unidas, que já mais perdem seus filhos os lugares, & povoações, que de seus pays lhe ficàrão, ficando ao mayor tudo, ao qual chamão os outros pay, & como tal o respeytão. Castigaõ cruelmente os ladrões (sendo-o elles todos) & usaõ de hũ modo de justiça galante, & he, que se hum Cafre furta ao outro hum cabrito, ou outra cousa menor, lhe dà o castigo o dono do cabrito com seus parentes, o que elle quer, & ordinariamente he enterralo vivo. Aqui nos venderaõ hũ boy capado muyto grande, & gordo, aos quaes chamaõ Zembe.

Caminhâmos mais tres dias por dentro atè que fomos dar a hum rio grande, cuja passagem nos ensinaraõ os Cafres com mostras de amizade, no qual nos ficou hum marinheyro por nome Bernardo Jorge; & daqui fomos pela praya dous dias atè chegarmos a outro rio, que na boca era estreyto, mas dentro muy largo. E por irmos já faltos de milho esperamos hum dia, ao qual acodiraõ tantos Cafres, que cobriam os outeyros trazendonos muytas galinhas a vender. Alli vi trazerem aleyjados às costas para nos verem. Passando este rio ao qual puzemos nome do lagarto, por vermos andar hum nelle, fomos nosso caminho por dentro afastados da praya huma legoa, & caminhando sinco dias por entre boa gente, viemos sair na boca de hum rio, que parecia se não passaria a vão, & estando ahi hum dia nos vieraõ a vender algumas galinhas. Aqui nesta paragem ha infinitos elefantes, & toda a noyte os ouvimos bramar, mas com os muytos fogos, que ordinariamente faziamos não ousaraõ chegar nunca. Os Cafres nos disseraõ, que fossemos mais a dentro, que là se passava, & indo, nos ensinaraõ por onde era o vão, & nos ajudarão a passar. Neste rio esteve Dona Ursula quasi afogada, porque como a agua dava pela barba, & ella era pequena, fora cobrindo, & como ella sabia nadar pareceo-lhe pudesse romper a agua, & vendo-se, que hia pelo rio abayxo, lhe acodiraõ trabalhosamente.

A este rio puzemos nome, o das Ilhas por ter algumas por dentro.

Daqui fomos por cima de huns outeyros em busca de milho, de que hiamos faltos, que por não irmos carregados o não compramos neste rio, & à noyte chegamos a humas povoações pobres, que não tinhaõ senão abobaras, & tendo caminhado mais quatro, ou sinco dias chegamos a outro rio que teria hum grande legoa de largo, & na borda muytos espessos caniços, o qual passamos sempre com a agua pela cinta; & por aqui atraz nos foy ficando muyta gente com camaras, & outras enfermidades, que por ser muyta quantidade me não alembra. Todos estes males nos fez o milho, porque o comiamos inteiro, & crù, & como não eramos acostumados a este mantimento, traziamos os estamagos de muytas cousas peçonhentas fraquissimos, & debilitados. Este rio no meyo fazia hũa Ilha, na qual vimos muytos cavallo marinhos, & pondo quasi todo o dia em o passar, chegamos à outra banda à tarde aonde dormimos. E ao outro dia marchamos por huns campos desertos, & nos veyo ao caminho hum Cafre com huma joya redonda de lataõ botada ao pescoço, que lhe cobria todos os peytos, & nos disse, que fossemos com elle que nos levaria onde havia muyto mâtimento, & indo-nos guiando nos levou por dentro de hum rio, aonde dava a agua pelo joelho, todo cheyo de arvoredos tão alto, & tão espesso, que em mais de duas horas, que fomos por elle, não vimos o Sol. Passado elle, & andando todo aquelle dia sem parar, por irmos faltos de milho, à tarde fomos ter às povoaçoens, & querendo-nos prover, não achamos mais que hum mantimento, que he o mesmo, que em Lisboa daõ aos canarios, a que chamão alpiste, & os Cafres amechueyra; & foy esta gente buscarnos ao caminho só para nos ver, do que faziaõ muytos espantos; & perguntando-nos qual era a causa de virmos por terras alheas com molheres, & filhos, & contando-lho os nossos Cafres torciaõ os dedos como que rogavaõ pragas a quem fora causa de nossa perdição.

Daqui marchamos por terra chaã povoada de gente miseravel, em quem achamos bom gasalhado, & no fim de dous dias chegamos a huma povoação, que estava perto da praya, na qual achamos algum peyxe, & a gente se mostrou mais compassiva, que toda a outra, porque molheres, & meninos se foraõ à praya atirando muytas pedradas ao mar, dizendo-lhe certas palavras como pragas, & virando-lhe as costas alevantando humas pelles, com

que traziaõ cuberto o trazeyto, lho mostravaõ, que he entre elles a mayor praga, que ha, & faziaõ isto por lhes terem contado, que elle fora causa de nõs padecermos tantos trabalhos, & de andarmos havia sinco mezes por terras alheas, que he o de que mais se espantavaõ, porque não costumão afastarse donde nascem dez legoas, & tem isso por causa notavel. Daqui metendo-nos pela terra obra de hum legoa, fomos caminhando por terras bayxas, areentas, & de pouco mantimento, & no cabo de tres dias demos com o rio da pescaria, no qual achámos muyto peyxe, & a gente delle nos fez muyta festa. He este rio na boca estreyto, & alto, mas hũa legoa por dentro he de mais de tres legoas de largo, & em bayxa mar fica em seco. Tem os Cafres nelle infinitos pesqueyros, a que chamão gamboas, feytas de escadas juntas, nas quaes entra o peyxe com a enchente, & com a vazante fica em seco. Como a marè foy vazia de todo, atravessamos o rio indo comnosco muytos Cafres, que nos ajudavaõ a levar o que mais nos carregava, indo cantando cõ grande alegria.

Fomos este dia pela praya jantar à borda do mar, & não achando agua doce na terra, de que ficamos muyto tristes, a fomos achar dentro na agua salgada, & era hum olho de tanta grossura como hum concha, & metido no mar, & sahia com tanta furia, que arrebentava por cima da agua salgada hum palmo de alto, & vazando logo a marè, ficou em seco, aonde todos matámos a sede, & fizemos de comer. Caminhámos dous dias sempre pela praya das mèdas do ouro, que já aqui começavaõ, & no fim delles hiamos já muyto faltos, & só com tres vacas, & por parte onde se não achava agua, & aqui nos disse hum Cafre, que nos levaria onde nos venderiaõ muyto milho, & galinhas, & cabras, & guiando-nos para hum aberta que a terra fazia nos deyxou junto de hum grande fonte, & dando recado às povoaçoens nos acodio muyto milho, & galinhas, & nos vierão ver os Cafres mais principaes com differente trajo, que eraõ humas grandes capas de pelles, que os cobriaõ atè o bico do pè, & elles em si muyto sizudos, & graves, os quaes pedirão ao nosso Capitão quizesse ir fazendo caminho pelas suas povoações, que nellas se poderia prover de mais mantimento, o que fizemos logo no mesmo dia, & por ser tarde dormimos em hum valle, & no outro seguinte fomos às povoações aonde nos receberão bem, mas não achámos o que elles nos tinham dito.

Estes Cafres me virão matar hum passaro à espingarda, de que

fizerão grande espanto parecendo-lhes ser feyticeria, & assim fallando huns com outros se veyo ao Capitão hum aleyjado de huma perna, que lhe aleyjara hum lagarto havia muyto tempo, & assim o mostrava a ferida ser velha, dizendo-lhe, que se se atrevia a curallo, que lhe pagaria muyto bem. Ao que o Capitão respondeo galantemente, dizendo que aquella ferida havia muyto tempo que era feyta, & que por isso se não podia curar em pouco tempo, & mais que lhe havia de dar alguma cousa, com que fizesse a cura cõ boa vontade, que sem ella não podia fazer nada. Ao que o Cafre disse, que era contente; & mandando buscar huma bandeja de milho, lho deu, & o Capitão depois de o tomar disse, que ainda não tinha vontade. O Cafre mandou buscar mais tres galinhas, & dando-lhas lhe perguntou, se tinha já vontade, ao que respondeo o Capitão, que si; & o Cafre replicou, que se a não tinha, que o não curasse, que elle bem sabia, que o não podia curar bem contra sua vontade. O Capitão o curou desta maneyra. Tomou huma escova, que trazia, que tinha nas costas hum espelho pequeno, & pondo-lho diante dos olhos, o Cafre ficou pasmado, & chamando outros, que alli estavam, lhe disse o Capitão, que se não bolisse, nem fallasse; & estando quedo depois de ter visto o espelho, tomou a escova, & escovou-lhe aonde tinha a ferida, & untando-lha com huma pouca de gordura de vaca lha atou com hum pedaço de bertangil, & depois de isto feyto lhe disse, que dahi a duas luas havia de ficar saõ, que por ser a ferida tão velha não sarava logo. O Cafre ficou muyto confiado, & lhe disse, que era pobre, que por isso lhe não dava mais. Logo acodiraõ mais aleyjados, & forão curados pelo mesmo modo.

Caminhamos mais dous dias pela praya, & chegámos no fim delles ao rio de Santa Luzia, aonde se estimavão já panos, & por elles resgatamos milho, & galinhas. Nelle estivemos hũ dia, & ao outro o passamos, no qual nos morrerão nove pessoas de frio. He este rio de duas legoas de largo, & como a agua nos dava por cima dos peytos, & corria com muyta furia, quando-o acabamos de passar, ficamos quasi mortos. Aqui endoudeceo hum marinheyro velho, que se chamava Francisco Dias, o qual vinha aleyjado de ambos os braços de duas azagayadas, que os Cafres atraz lhe tinham dado. Logo fizemos grandes fogueyras, em que nos aquecamos, & o marinheyro tornou em si depois de quente. Detivemo-nos aqui atè o outro dia resgatando muyto milho, bolos,

& massa de ameychueyra, que elles costumaõ comer crua, & nõs o faziamos tambem. Resgatamos mais duas vacas, das quaes matey huma à espingarda. Fomos daqui caminhando sempre pela praya das mèdas do ouro, & com razaõ lhe puzeraõ este nome, porque não parecem senaõ mèdas, sendo de huma terra de cor de ouro, & tão fina como farinha, mas dura, & toda cheya de ribeyros de agua, os quaes partem estas mèdas, & a agua delles he amarela da mesma cor da terra. E pelo que a diante vi nas terras de Cuama, me parece, que esta deve de ter ouro, por se parecer com aquella da qual se tira muyto em pò, & isto me certificou mais o ser esta pezada. Estas mèdas estaõ pegadas com a praya, & vão em corda por cima, & tem de comprido obra de quarenta legoas.

E marchando por diante passámos hum rio, no qual roubáraõ os Cafres a hum marinheyro, que se chamava Antonio Martins por se afastar da companhia querendo comprar alguma cousa, que o não vissem, & indo pela praya chegámos a outro pequeno, que dava a agua pelo joelho, & nelle jantámos. E fazendo tomar o Sol ao Piloto, tomou de altura vinte seis grãos largos, o que causou alegria na gente, porque cuydavamos estar mais longe. E soube-se por esta altura estarmos do rio de Lourenço Marquez vinte seis legoas, ou pouco mais. Aqui nos trouxèraõ huma bufara morta a vender, com a qual ficou a festa sendo mayor, & achámos hum Cafre com hũ chapeo na cabeça, & vestido de hum pano, que nos assegurou ser certo o que o Piloto tinha dito. Tambem vimos outros Cafres com panos, & nos disseraõ, que em quatro dias podiamos chegar ao Inhaca. Aqui não conhecem rio de Lourenço Marquez, nem cabo das Correntes, se não o Inhaca, que he hum Rey, que està em huma Ilha na boca do rio de Lourenço Marquez, como adiante direy. Neste riosinho, que digo, nos ficou hum menino, que traziamos filho de Luis da Fonseca, & de Beatriz Alvarez, o qual vinha muyto magro, & se tinha deyxado ficar muytas vezes nas povoações atraz, & os Cafres no lo traziaõ ao outro dia, & como elle tinha já feyto isto, pareceo-nos viesse como das outras vezes.

Marchámos mais quatro dias pela praya, & no fim delles nos sahio ao caminho hum Cafre acompanhado cõ outros seis, o qual era muyto gentilhomem, & vinha bem concertado com huma cadeya de muytas voltas a tiracolo, & hum pano galante cingido, & as mãos cheas de azagayas, que nisto se esmeraõ mais

os graves. E nenhuma cousa me admirou mais desta gente, desda mais remota, que he aonde desembarcamos, que esta, que direy. Tinhaõ tão pouca noticia de nõs, parecendo-lhe sermos creaturas nascidas no mar, que por acenos nos pediraõ lhes mostrassemos o embigo, o que fizerão logo dous marinheyros, & depois pediraõ, que assoprassemos, & como nos virão fazer isto, deraõ à cabeça como quem dizia, estes são gente como nõs. Todos estes Cafres atè Zofala são circunsidados, naõ sey quem lhes foy là ensinar esta cerimonia. Este, que atraz digo, era filho do Inhaca Sangane o verdadeyro Rey, & Senhor da Ilha, que està no rio de Lourenço Marquez, a quem o Inhaca Manganhayra tinha despojado della, & elle vivia na terra firme com sua gente atè ver se morria este tyrano, que era muyto velho, para se tornar à sua posse, como adiante direy. Levou-nos pela terra dentro obra de huma legoa às suas povoações, onde nos vendèraõ algumas cabras, & pedindo lhe nos levasse aonde seu pay estava, o dilatou hum dia, querendo que lhe comprassemos nas suas terras alguma cousa, mas nõs desejosos de chegar detivemonos alli pouco, & começando a fazer nosso caminho, vendo elle, que por nenhum modo nos queriamos deter, no lo mandou mostrar. No qual caminho vimos huma casa grande de palha, & antes que a ella chegassemos muytas figuras sem rosto, a modo de caens, & lagartos, & de homens tudo de palha, & perguntando, que era aquillo, disseraõ-me, que alli morava hum Cafre, que dava agua quando faltava nas sementeyras: todo o seu governo são feytiçarias.

Fomos jantar debayxo de hũ arvoredos, no qual nos trouxeraõ a vender muyto mel em favos, & veyo ter cõnosco hum Cafre, que fallava Portuguez, que trazia hũ recado do Inhaca Sangane pay do Cafre, que atraz nos fica. Foy a vista deste Cafre para nõs novas de muyta alegria, porque nos desenganamos com elle, & tivemos por certo ser assim o que nos tinham dito. Deu seu recado, o qual era, que nos mandava dizer esse Inhaca, que nos fossemos logo para onde elle estava, que nos não faltaria nada, & nos daria embarcação para passarmos o rio da outra banda, & faria tudo o que quizessemos, & naõ se fiando o Capitão de tudo isto, lhe mandou là hum Portuguez, pelo qual lhe enviou hum presente de cousas de cobre, o qual foy, & fallando com elle, & com muytos Cafres, que ahi estavam se veyo, & trouxe ao Capitão hũ cacho de figos, os quaes festejámos por ser fruta da

India boa. Este homem disse, que o Rey parecia bom homem, & que não tinha força, com que nos pudesse fazer mal, & que estava esperando por nós, & que diziaõ os seus, que alli vinhão todos os annos muytos Portuguezes. E para nos fazer ir mais depressa nos mandou hum marinheyro de Moçambique, que alli tinha ficado de huma embarcação, que os annos passados alli tinha ido. Com isto nos fomos, & tendo andado obra de hum legoa pela borda de huma alagoa, chegãmos onde este Rey estava, que era em hum alto entre dous pequenos outeyros, & como era já noyte não nos fallou, & mandou pelos seus nos mostrassem hum lugar apegado com suas povoações, onde assentãmos as tendas, & ao outro dia o foy o Capitão ver, & lhe lançou hũa cadeya douro com hum habito de Christo ao pescoço, & lhe deu duas sarasas, panos, que as molheres na India vestem, & são de estima. Elle tomou isto com muyto sizo, & fallando poucas palavras, disse, que se não agastasse, que havia de ir das suas terras muyto contente, porque elle não tinha mayor bem, que ser amigo dos Portuguezes, & com isto se veyo o Capitão. Este negro he grande pessoa, & foy sempre leal aos Portuguezes. Ao outro dia nos veyo ver, & mandou trazer cabras, & carneyros, & muytas galinhas, & amechueyra; & dilatando-o não nos mandar mostrar huma embarçam, que dizia tinha, nos viemos direytos à praya, & caminhando por ella dous dias, demos no rio de Lourenço Marquez de nós taõ desejado, a seis dias de Abril de seis centos & vinte tres, o qual nos não appareceo senão quando entrãmos por elle dentro, porque esta Ilha, que atraz disse, fica muyto perto de terra firme da banda do Cabo de boa Esperança, & assim quando vinhamos caminhando nos parecia tudo terra firme.

Tanto que entrãmos dentro obra de hum quarto de legoa, puzemos nossas tendas, & atirãmos tres, ou quatro espingardadas, & sendo de noyte fizemos nossos fogos, & todos com o Padre Frey Diogo dos Anjos Capucho, & com o Padre Frey Bento demos graças a Deos de nos trazer aonde nos conheciaõ, & vinhaõ embarcações de Moçambique. Ao outro dia vimos duas almadias com negros, que fallavão muyto bem Portuguez, com o que ficamos muyto mais contentes, porque atè alli não tinhamos visto almadia nenhuma, nem embarcação. O Capitão mandou visitar o Rey da Ilha, que era o Inhaca Manganhieyra, que atraz já disse, pedindo-lhe nos mandasse dizer se tinha embarcação, em que

pudessemos ir para Moçambique, & se tinha mantimentos, com que nos pudessemos sustentar hum mez que alli podiamos estar, atè concertar embarcação, em que nos fossemos, & passassemos à outra banda para podermos ir a tempo conveniente que achassemos embarcação de Moçambique. Ao que o Inhaca respondeo, que fossemos para là, que de tudo nos haviaria, mandando-nos tres embarcações pequenas para passarmos à Ilha, o que logo fizemos. E tanto que toda a gente esteve nella, marchâmos com a ordem, que traziamos atè a povoação onde o Rey estava, a qual era de casas grandes todas com seus patios de paos altos, de modo que logo pareciañ casas de homem bellicoso. Estava assentado em huma esteyra cuberto com hũa capa de perpetuana de cor de canella, que parecia Ingreza, & com hum chapeo na cabeça, & em vendo o Capitañ se alevantou, mas não se bolio, & lhe deu hum grande abraço. O Capitañ lhe tirou a capa, com que estava cuberto, ficando nũ, & o cobrio com outra de capichuela preta, & lhe deytou ao pescoço huma cadeya de prata, que foy do contramestre Manoel Alvres, com o apito, que foy pessa, que elle muyto estimou. He este negro muyto velho ao que parecia, & gordo, sendo assim, que em toda a Cafraria não vi Cafre que fosse alcatruzado, nem gordo, senaõ todos direytos, & enxutos. Mandou-nos que puzessemos nossas tendas junto das povoações, & ao outro dia nos acodiriañ a vender muyto peyxe, galinhas, & amechueyra, & alguns carneyros; & o Rey veyo ver o Capitañ, & lhe foy mostrar as embarcações, que tinha, as quaes erañ pequenas, & estavañ todas quebradas, & como os nossos carpinteyros as virañ, disserañ, que não erañ capazes para mais, que para nos passar à outra banda do rio, que era dahi a sete legoas, nem tinhañ hombros sobre que se pudessem fazer mayores embarcações, & que se não haviamos de esperar por embarcaçam de Moçambique, a qual não podia vir senaõ no Março do anno seguinte, que pedisse ao Inhaca mandasse concertar as embarcações depressa, porque os Cafres saõ muyto vagarosos; ao que o Capitañ respondeo: Parece-me bem passemos à outra banda, iremos marchando atè Inhabane, que nos fica perto, & podemos gastar, ao mais, hum mez no caminho, & não ficarmos hum anno aqui esperando na terra deste Cafre, que he hum traydor, que matou ha dous annos aqui hum Clerigo, & tres Portuguezes, polos roubar, & por esta razã não tem vindo aqui pangayo ha tantos tempos, nem virà tañ cedo, & o mesmo nos irá

fazendo a nós pelo tempo em diante poucos a poucos. Tudo isto lhe tinha contado o outro Inhaca da outra banda, & assim tinha acontecido. E ditas estas palavras se foy ao Inhaca, & lhe pedio mandasse concertar as embarçaõens, porque estava resolute a se ir, & não esperar pelas de Moçambique, as quaes havia dous annos, que não tinhaõ alli vindo polo gasalhado, que os tempos atraz lhes fizera, & que o anno vindouro pôde ser não viessem tambem. Ao que lhe respondeo o Inhaca, que era verdade matara o Clerigo, & os Portuguezes, mas foy, porque elles lhe matãraõ seu irmão, & que se nos não queriamos fiar delle, que nos fossemos para huma Ilha, que está logo ahi pegado, a qual se passava a pè em bayxamar, que alli tinhamos agua, & que nos mandaria fazer para cada dous Portuguezes hũa gamboa, & teriamos o mantimento, que nos bastasse, que alli tinhão invernado por muytas vezes Portuguezes, & que nunca se queyxãraõ delle senão agora. Disse mais, que elle nos daria dez Cafres seus, que mandasse com elles dous Portuguezes a Inhabane dar recado como estavamos alli esperando, para que viessem embarcações, ao que replicou o Capitaõ que lhe importava chegar depressa. Tornou-lhe a dizer o Cafre, que lhe requeria não fizesse tal viagem porque o haviaõ de matar os Mocrangas assim como fizeraõ à gente de Nuno Velho Pereyra, que não coube na embarcação, & que eraõ terras muyto doentias, & que elle tinha as suas casas cheyas de marfim, & ambre, & se os Portuguezes lho não comprassem, não tinha elle remedio, pelo que lhe convinha fazermos muytos mimos, & não nos escandalizar, que lhe dessemos credito.

Naõ quiz o Capitaõ senão irse, & assim lho disse, rogando-lhe mandasse concertar as embarcações, & despedindo-se delle, nos viemos estar na Ilha, que tenho dito, que está obra de huma legoa dalli, na qual estivemos em quanto as embarcações se concertãraõ, que foy atè dezoyto de Abril. Aqui nos quizemos ficar Rodrigo Affonso, & eu, & nos fomos ao Capitaõ dando-lhe conta disso, & que nos não atreviamos a marchar mais por terra, que dalli iriamos quando viesse pangayo. O Capitaõ nos levou por desconfiança, dizendo, que se espantava de querermos arripiar a carreyra quando eramos a sua guedelha, que por se dizer havia ladrões adiante, o não haviamos de deyxar, & que quando de todo o fizessemos, nos havia de fazer hum protesto, & parece, que adivinhava este fidalgo. Com estas razões nos embarcãmos

com a mais companhia em quatro embarcações, as quaes não puderão levar toda a gente de huma vez, & foy necessario voltar outra. E este dia, que partimos chegámos á meya noyte á outra banda a huma Ilha, que dentro no mesmo rio está, na qual saltámos em terra, & nella dormimos o que restava da noyte.

Ao outro dia Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, que já vinha doente, amanheceo muyto mal, mas ainda fallava bem, & confessando-se veyo a morrer noutra Ilha, donde viemos a outra noyte. E affirmo a v. m. que não pudemos ter cousa, que nos causasse mais sentimento, & a mim me coube a mayor parte como seu servidor, porque além de ser tão grande cavalleyro, era hum Anjo de natureza, & posso dizer, que elle era causa de todos os trabalhos padecidos nos serem faceis de passar, porque era o primeyro, que hia buscar a lenha, & a agua às costas, & se metia no mar primeyro que todos buscar o marisco, & quando os outros vião humia pessoa de tanta qualidade fazer isto, dava-lhe animo para fazerem o mesmo, & não descorçoavão. Aqui nesta Ilha o enterrámos ao outro dia pela manhaã, & lhe puzemos hum sinal na cova. Daqui fomos por hum braço deste rio ter a outra Ilha de hũ negro, que se chama Melbomba, aonde desembarcámos, & esperamos atè que as embarcações tornárão com o resto da gente, que nos ficava na Ilha do Inhaca, que foy atè sete de Mayo. No qual tempo adoecemos todos por ser a terra má, & tambem porque nos metemos em muyto comer crù, & morrerão o Padre Frey Bento, Manoel da Sylva Alfanja, Pascoal Henriques bombardeyro, Antonio Luis marinheyro, & João Grumete. Chegou a outra gente, da qual vinha tambem doente a mayor parte, & eraõ mortas oyto pessoas das que deyxámos com ellas, que por não lhe saber os nomes os não digo aqui. Nesta Ilha deyxámos por estarem muyto doentes, & nos não poderem acompanhar Antonio Godinho de Lacerda, Gaspar Dias despenseyro, Francisco da Costa marinheyro, & hum criado do Capitaõ.

Passando-nos a terra firme marchámos sempre pela praya atè chegarmos às terras de hum Rey que chamaõ Ommanhisa, que he o mais poderoso, que nestas partes hà, o qual a treze dias deste mesmo mez nos veyo ver ao caminho onde estavamos aguardando convalecesse alguma gente, & como algũa peyorava, a deyxámos com este Rey, que nos mostrou bom animo, & ordinariamente, quando a estas partes vem embarcação, na sua terra tem a mayor feytoria. Pedio-nos fossemos por dentro, que era

melhor gente, & nos avisou, que pelo caminho que levavamos nos haviaõ de roubar, & matar a todos. E como o Capitão nunca tomou conselho doutrem, & se governava só por sua cabeça, não acertou em muytas cousas, & com ser este, vinha tão unido com a gente do mar, que não fazia cousa, que lhes não parecesse bem, ainda que fosse em castigo, que nelles proprios fizesse, por este respeyto senão remediou isto, & porque os homens nobres erão poucos.

Aqui ficou Dona Ursula com hum filho mais velho, que se chamava Antonio de Mello, & ficaraõ com ella Jaques Henriques, & dous grumetes, & huma negra de Thomè Coelho. Esta Dona levarão em hum andor, que fizeraõ de panos, com o filho nos braços, que era grande lastima de ver huma molher moça, fermosa, mais alva, & loura, que huma Framenga, molher de huma pessoa taõ honrada como foy Domingos Cardoso de Mello Ouvidor geral do crime no Estado da India, tão rico, em poder de Cafres chorando muytas lagrimas. E por nos parecer, que não escaparia, lhe trouxemos o filho mais pequeno com nosco, o que foy cousa, que mais lhe acrescentou o sentimento. O Rey a levou comsigo, dizendo lhe não faltaria nada, & o Capitão lhe prometeo de lhe dar hum bar de fato polo bom tratamento, que lhe fizesse, & pelas mais pessoas.

Tanto que o Rey se foy nos partimos, indo caminhando pela praya sempre. Já neste tempo o Capitão hia doente, ao qual levavaõ em hum andor, atè chegarmos a hum rio, que chamaõ Adoengres, que foy a dezaseis do proprio mez, no qual o Capitão vendo o estado, em que estava, que muytas vezes não fallava a proprio, ordenou de eleger com parecer de todos huma pessoa, que tivesse merecimentos, & partes para poder ficar em seu lugar, & mandando chamar a todos, lhes disse, que elle já não hia capaz para os poder governar, que vissem elles a pessoa, que alli hia, que melhor o pudesse fazer pois bem conheciaõ a todos, & o para que prestava cada hum, que em suas mãos punha esta eleyção, porque depois se não queyxassem d'elle, & que depois de todos votarem votaria elle, os quaes votando em mim, dizendo suas virtudes, disse o Capitão que esse era tambem o seu voto, & mandando-me chamar Pero de Moraes, me disse como aquelle povo me tinha eleyto por Capitão, & que esse fora o seu voto tambem, que esperava em Deos, que eu os governasse com mais prudencia do que elle atè entam o tinha feyto, que como pessoa

de fóra tinha sabido no que lhes dava molestia. Eu respondi, que havia de trabalhar por ver se o podia ir imitando.

E logo me fuy para a minha tenda, levando comigo a mayor parte da gente, aos quaes disse, que aceytàra aquelle lugar só com zelo de nos irmos conservando, & para que em nenhum tempo se pudessem queyxar de mim, escolhia seis pessoas as mais principaes, que alli hiam, sem o parecer das quaes não faria cousa de consideração; & pareceo isto a todos bem por o Capitào Pero de Moraes o não tomar nunca de ninguem em materia algũa. As pessoas, que para isto escolhi foy o Padre Frey Diogo dos Anjos, Thomè Coelho de Almeyda fidalgo, Antonio Ferraõ da Cunha fidalgo, Vicente Lobo de Sequeyra fidalgo, Andrè Velho Freyre, & o Piloto. Depois de isto feyto, veyo o Escrivão do arrayal com estas seis pessoas, & me requerer aõ da parte delRey, dizendo, que a pedraria, que vinha na borsoleta, vinha arriscada, por quanto os Cafres havia tres dias nos perseguiaõ, & que a trazia hum homem occupado só com ella, que podia acontecer a diante, aonde nos tinhaõ dito estavaõ Cafres muyto belicosos, desbaratarem-nos, & tomarnola toda por ir junta em modo, que fazia tamanho volume, & que hiamos arriscados a isso por ir a gente toda doente, & não poderem cõ as espingardas, & a polvora não ter força nenhũa por se ter molhado muytas vezes, que mandasse abrir a borsoleta, na qual vinhão sete bisalhos muyto bem mutrados, que os repartisse pelas pessoas, que me parecesse, cobrando de cada huma seu conhecimento, em que confessassem levar em seu poder o dito bisalho com tantas mutras de lacre, & com taes armas, & que em nenhum tempo pudesse a pessoa, que a levasse (em caso que a salvasse) requerer mais salvação delle, que aquella que lhe coubesse, repartindo-se por todos confórme os merecimentos de cada hum, & que isto se fazia para bem de todos, & para melhor se poder salvar. E como isto pareceo bem à mais da gente, & era o melhor remedio que podia ter em caso que tivessesmos huma desaventura, mandey vir a borsoleta, & perante todos a mandey abrir, & aos sete bisalhos, que dentro vinhão, os mandey cada hum forrar de couro, & fazendo os conhecimentos, os entreguey às pessoas seguintes: Thomè Coelho de Almeyda, Vicente Lobo de Sequeyra, Andrè Velho Freyre, o Piloto, Vicente Esteves Mestre carpinteyro, João Rodrigues, & eu, & feytos os conhecimentos, & mais papeis de entrega, se depositarão em minha maõ.

Havia já dous dias que alli estavamos, onde nos ficárão tres companheyros, hum delles bombardeyro, & dous grumetes, & os Cafres nos não traziaõ a vender cousa alguma, antes nos faziaõ todo o mal que podiaõ, não nos querendo mostrar por onde o rio se passava; pelo que eu mandey a hum negro nosso fosse apalpando com hum pão na mão por onde era a passagem, & para o fazer com melhor vontade, lhe dey huma cadeya de ouro, porque elles não eraõ alli nossos cativos, & porque não fugissem para os da terra, era necessario trazermolos contentes, o que fez logo, andando para huma parte, & para a outra, atè que acertou com o vão, & pondo nelle balizas, fomos passando com a agua pela barba, & como tinhamos entrado na terra dos ladroens trabalhamos caminhar o mais que pudessemos, & assim o fizemos, indo continuamente brigando com elles, o que já a gente fazia com muyto trabalho por virmos doentes, & com poucas forças pelos mantimentos serem poucos, & os Cafres no los não quererem vender. Assim fomos atè o rio do ouro, o qual he muyto caudeloso, & largo, & vem com tanta furia, que achámos antes que a elle chegassemos mais de oyto legoas, arvores grandissimas arrancadas pelo pè em tanta quantidade, que enchiaõ as prayas, que muytas vezes não podiamos passar com ellas, & logo entendemos haver alli perto algum rio grande. He senhor de toda esta paragem hum negro muyto velho, ao qual chamaõ Hinham-puna. E ficámos muyto desconsolados com a vista deste rio pela impossibilidade, que viamos na passagem, mas não tardou muyto tempo, vimos vir por elle abayxo duas almadias, com cuja vista ficámos com menos receyos, & chamando-as a nòs, lhes mandey dizer se nos queriaõ passar, ao que responderaõ, que si, que viriaõ ao outro dia com mais almadias para o poderem fazer, & mandando-lhe dar hum pedaço de bertangil pela boa reposta, se foraõ.

E esperando nòs por elles pela manhaã, os homens que estavaõ de posta viraõ vir da nossa mesma banda mais de duzentos Cafres muyto bem armados cõ muytas azagayas, & frechas, & foraõ os primeyros, que com estas armas vimos, logo fiz pòr a todos em ordem, & desparar algũas espingardas. Vieraõ-se elles chegando todos juntos trazendo o seu Rey no meyo, o qual vinha vestido à Portugueza galantemente com hum gibam de tafecira de linha, com o forro para fóra, & hum calçam à comprida com a barguilha para traz, & hum chapeo na cabeça; & vinha com este vestido

por nos mostrar, que tinha commercio com nosco, & nos fiassemos delle, mas logo foy conhecido seu desenho. Trouxe-me de saguate dous ramos de figos, que lhe eu paguey muyto bem, dando-lhe hum bertangil. El tratando nos mandasse passar pelas suas embarcações, disse, q̃ como lhe pagassemos o faria, sobre o que nos concertámos por tres bertangis, & depois de concertados pedio mais dous, ao qual recusando disse, que por elle ser velho, & nos ter vindo ver lhe dava mais os dous que pedia. Dahi a hum pouco disse, que lhe haviamos de dar mais, & alevantando-me me vim para as tendas, & mandey estivessem todos com as armas nas mãos até depois de meyo dia, & vendo, que elles senão hiaão, lhe mandey dizer, que os Portuguezes não consentiaão nunca, que junto com elles estivesse outra gente, que lhe mãdava dizer isto, porque se hia já fazendo tarde, & de noyte lhe podiaão matar alguem da sua companhia com as nossas espingardas, com que toda a noyte vigiavamos. Elle mandou dizer, que a sua gente se hia logo, & que elle só havia de ficar com quatro Cafres, esperando até o outro dia viessem as almadias para nos mandar passar, que era nosso amigo.

Tanto que vi esta gente se hia, mandey atirar duas espingardadas cõ pelouro por cima delles, os quaes ouvindo zunir os pelouros, deytaraão-se no chaão, & mandaraão saber que era aquillo, que elles não queriaão brigas com nosco; ao que lhe mandey dizer que fora hum desastre, que descarregando duas espingardas acertaraão de passar por là os pelouros, & assim se foraão, ficando o Rey, como digo, & nòs toda a noyte com muyta vigia, & como se acabavaão os quartos, atiravamos espingardadas. E pela manhaã vendo elle como tinhamos estado toda a noyte, & que não podiaão fazer o que desejavaão sem seu risco, se foy despedindo-se de mim, dizendo, que logo mãdava dous Cafres para se concertarem comigo sobre a passagem, que o que elles fizessem havia por bem feyto, & assim o fez mandando os dous Cafres, com os quaes me concertey em oyto bertangis, que lhes não foraão dados senão depois de nos terem passado. Aqui nos morreraão quatro companheyros. E nesta passagem determinaraão de nos assaltear desta maneyra: mandàraão dizer aos Cafres da outra banda, que depois que ametade da gente fosse passada, dessem là nella, que o mesmo fariaão de cà, & para poderem fazer isso como o Cafre desejava, trouxeraão quatro almadias pequenas, & determinàraão passar huma, & huma, mas eu que conheci seu

intento, mandey amarrar as almadias duas & duas juntas para poder caber mais gente nellas, & mandey meter ametade da melhor gente dentro com ordem que tanto que là fossem tomassem hũ lugar alto, que de cà se via, aonde se fizessem fortes em quanto passava a demais, & que tornassem em cada duas almadias duas pessoas com suas espingardas, para que nos não fugissem. E em quanto isto se fazia ficãmos com as espingardas nas mãos, & murriões acesos, de modo que nunca lhe dèmos lugar para fazerem cousa alguma, & foy de grande acordo mandar andar os dous homens nas almadias em quanto se fazia esta passagem, porque em nos dividindo logo eramos perdidos. E no fim passey eu com oyto companheyros; & então me contárão os Cafres da almadia toda sua determinação, dizendo-me, que dalli por diante vissemos como hiamos, porque era aquella terra dos mais mãos que havia em toda a Cafraria, que só por nos roubarem o que levavamos vestido, nos matariaõ, & que eraõ muytos; agradecendo-lhe o aviso, lhe dey hum pedaço de bertangil, & me fuy caminhando com toda a pressa possivel.

Tanto que souberaõ, que eramos passados, vieraõ buscarnos muytos Cafres, com que vinhamos todo o dia pelejando, & a gente vinha descorçoada por nos ferirem de longe com suas frechas, que muytas vezes não viamos quem nos fazia mal, por nos atirarem do mato, & nõs vinhamos pela praya, & eraõ poucos os homens, que soubessem atirar com as espingardas. E temendo nos destruissem vendo-nos taõ fracos, me embosquey de dia, fazendo caminhar toda a noyte pela borda do mar, porque alli espraya muyto a marè, & ficava-nos longe o mato, & assim ficãmos caminhando na bayxamar de noyte, para que a enchente apagasse o rasto, que faziamos na area. E vespora do Espirito Santo de noyte indo caminhando vimos estar muytos fogos na praya, aos quaes furta-mos o corpo, caminhando bem junto com o mar, & muyto calados passamos sem sermos vistos delles, & apressandonos andando atè o quarto da lua, nos metemos no mato, & alli estivemos com vigias atè que foy noyte, & a marè esteve meya vazia, & começã-mos a marchar todos em ordem, & tendo andado meyo quarto da modorra vimos estar a diante muytos fogos, os quaes tomavaõ desda borda da agua atè o mato, para que lhes não pudessemos escapar, & chegando perto, nos mandou dizer o Mocaranga Muquulo, que era o Rey de toda aquella paragem, que não passassemos de noyte pelas suas terras, que não era costume, &

que não queria brigar com nosco. Eu lhe mandey dizer, que os Portuguezes não haviaõ mister licença de ninguem para poderem passar por toda a parte : mandou-me dizer, que visse o que fazia, que não fizesse guerra, que todos os Portuguezes, que por alli passavaõ, lhe davaõ a sua curva, como o faziaõ em outras partes. E a este recado começãrãõ todos os da companhia com grãdes vozes dizendo, que por dous bertangis, que lhes podiamos dar, os queria matar a todos, não estando nenhũ para poder pelear.

Vendo eu estes clamores chamey as pessoas, que atraz disse, para que juntos assentassemos o que melhor nos parecesse, aos quaes disse, que me parecia acertado passar pelejando de noyte com estes Cafres, porque não poderiaõ enxergar as faltas, com que vinhamos, & que as espingardas de noyte causavaõ mais horror, & quando nos acontecesse mã fortuna poderiamos mais a nosso salvo escapar a pedraria, & que se aguardavamos, que fosse manhã, como elles pediaõ, poderia vir mais gente da que alli estava, & verem-nos fracos, & descorçoados. A isto me responderaõ, que elles vinhãõ taes, que de dia não pelejavaõ, que fariaõ de noyte, & que querendo eu fazelo, haviaõ só de brigar dez, ou doze homens, que tinhaõ vergonha, & os outros todos haviaõ de fugir; & que pòde ser contentando-se com o que lhes podiamos dar se fossem, & nõs ficavamos sem nos pormos nesse risco. Ao que insistindo eu em passarmos, disse por muytas vezes, que se no rio do sangue os Cafres viraõ a pouca, gente, que pelejava, que nos houveraõ de matar a todos, mas a noyte encobrimdo isto, cuydavaõ pelear todos & por esse respeyto fugiraõ; & Deos sabe quantos foraõ os que defenderaõ esta noyte que digo. Elles me responderaõ, que me não cansasse, que não convinha passarmos de noyte, & este era o parecer de todos. E como vi esta vontade na melhor gente, disse, que elles eraõ testemunhas como o ficar era contra meu parecer, & que disso me haviaõ de passar os papeis que me fossem necessarios : parece que me adivinhava o coração o que depois succedeo.

Como vi que havia de ficar atè pela manhã, busquey o mais forte lugar que alli havia em hum alto, & mandando fazer muytas fogueyras tomey todos os bisalhos, & mandey-os enterrar em segredo, & em cima donde elles estavaõ mandey fazer hũa grande fogueyra, estando o restante da noyte todos com as armas nas mãos sem ninguem dormir. E vindo a manhã veyo o mesmo Rey, com o qual me concertey em nove bertangis, & hũa roupeta

de escarlata, & depois pedio mais humas peças de prata das cabeçadas de hum cavallo, que tambem lhas dêmos, & foy pedindo mais de maneyra que lhe dey tudo o que pedio, & mostrando estar satisfeyto se despedio de nòs com mostras de amizade. Depois de elle ser ido, & não aparecer ninguem mandey tirar os bisalhos, & os torney entregar a quem os trazia, & indo marchando pela praya nos sahiraõ do mato mais de mil Cafres, & dando-nos hum assalto na retaguarda, que só pelejou, a desbaratàraõ logo deyxando todos os que nella vinhão muyto mal feridos, & despidos sem lhe ficar cousa nenhuma, cõ que pudessem cobrir suas vergonhas. E a demais gente como vio este disbarate fugiraõ para o mato sem poderem esconder nada, porque logo foraõ sobre elles, & os despiraõ, sendo assim, que se elles pelejaraõ não nos houveraõ de desbaratar, & foraõ atirando as suas espingardadas entretanto carregavamos nòs as nossas, & assim pelejaramos, & como nòs os fomos matando elles se retiràraõ, como fizeraõ outros mais valentes, com que muytas vezes brigamos.

Vendo-me eu nũ, & ferido com sinco frechadas penetrantes, huma na fonte direyta, outra nos peytos por onde me sahia o folego, outra que me atravessava os lombos, da qual ouriney sangue doze dias, & de que não pude tirar o ferro, & outra na coxa esquerda, de que tambem não tirey o ferro, & outra na perna direyta, que me estava vazando em sangue, determiney meterme pela terra dentro com estes ladrões para me curarem, & ver se me queriaõ dar alguma cousa para me cubrir, & estando com este pensamento me mandou dizer Thomè Coelho, & os mais, que não se haviaõ de ir dalli sem mim, que fossemos assim caminhando, que já Inhambane devia estar perto. Ao que respondi, que não estava para nada, que fossem elles, & os ajudasse Deos, & pedi a hũ marinheyro, que chamavaõ o Tavares que tambem estava ferido em huma perna, que quizesse vir comigo, & que nos tornariamos, se Deos nos dèsse saude, que não podia ser, que aquelles Cafres não tivessem compayxaõ de nos ver assim: elle o fez de mà vontade, & nòs fomos detraz delles hũa grande legoa, de maneyra que eu já não podia comigo, & alli n'um descampado se ajuntàraõ todos com os furtos, que nos roubàraõ, & o Rey hecedo-me me mandou tirar as frechas, & curar com hũ azeyte, que là tem, a que chamaõ mafura, & depois de curado me deraõ hum gibam velho sem mangas, & do mantimento, que nos tinhaõ

roubado me deraõ hũ pouco. Alli repartiraõ todas as riquezas que traziaõ, fazendo mais caso de hũ trapo, que de preciosissimos diamantes, os quaes tomou todos para si o Rey por lhe dizerem dous Cafrinhos nossos, que já com elles estavaõ, que aquillo era a melhor cousa, que havia, que por cada hum lhe haviaõ de dar hum bertangil. E como fizeraõ esta repartição, se foraõ, & ficando sós nos tornâmos à praya para ver se podiamos encontrar alguns dos companheyros, & trazendo hum murram aceso para fazermos fogo de noyte, & tendo já andado hum pouco, ouvimos de dentro do mato hũs assubios, & virando vimos dous negros vestidos, os quaes conhecemos logo serem nossos, & fallando com elles nos disseraõ, que esperassemos, q̃ hiam chamar João Rodrigues de Leaõ, que ficava no matto, & vindo logo me abraçou, & disse, que a elle o não roubárão por se esconder bem, & despindo a sua roupeta ma deu, & me disse, que alli trazia o bisalho, que eu lhe entregàra inteyro, que visse o que queria que fizesse delle. Eu lhe respondi, que pois elle o soubera guardar tam bem, que o trouxesse atè Inhambane, & que alli se determinaria o que haviamos de fazer, & assim viemos caminhando de noyte, porque de dia nos não deyxavaõ estes malditos Cafres esses fracos trapos q̃ traziamos. Tambem veyo ter com nosco hum nosso companheyro Francez, que se chamava Salamaõ, ao qual festejey eu bem para me sangrar, porque não me podia bulir com sangue pizado das feridas, o que fez logo cõ hũa lanceta, que trazia.

E caminhando quatro dias pela praya fomos passar hum rio com agua pelo pescoço fria como neve, a qual me tratou bem mal. Aqui achâmos a mayor parte da nossa gente, os quaes estavam contentes, por os Cafres lhe darem de comer logo, & veyo ter comigo Andrè Velho Freyre, & disse como salvàra o bisalho, que eu lhe entregàra, que mandava, que fizesse delle. Ao qual lhe disse, que o trouxesse a Inhambane, & que alli se ordenaria o que melhor parecesse. E assim fomos caminhando pelas terras do Zavala hum cheque, ou regulo nosso amigo, atè darmos com hum Cafre velho de hum Rey, ao qual chamaõ Aquerudo, o qual tanto que nos vio senaõ quiz apartar de nõs dizendo-me, que haviamos de ir pelas terras do seu Rey, & que nos não faltaria nenhuma cousa, & assim foy depois que o encontrâmos atè, nos pòr em Inhambane. Aquelle dia nos fez caminhar muyto para chegarmos aonde este Rey estava, & chegando de noyte nos fez muyta festa, mandando-nos dar todo o necessario, em quanto alli

estivemos, & nos matou huma vaca, & me vinha ver todas as noytes tres vezes, trazendo-me sempre cousas de comer, & dizendo, que nos não agastassemos, que já estávamos em terra de Portuguezes, & que elle o era como nós, que não tinha mais differença que ser negro. Aqui nos teve quatro dias, & no fim delles nos veyo acompanhando hum dia de caminho, & dando-me dous dentes de marfim, se foy, & deyxou seu filho mais velho para ir com nosco atè Inhambane, & o velho que atraz disse, os quaes nos foraõ dando de comer por todo o caminho atè que là chegãmos, que foy a dezanove de Junho, aonde fomos bem recebidos, & aquella noyte nos não faltou de comer, & ao outro dia me veyo ver o Piloto, juntamente com o Padre Frey Diogo, os quaes havia dous dias tinhaõ chegado à outra banda do rio com a de mais gente, que nos faltava, os quaes me disseraõ, que o Inhapata, & Matarima, dous Reys, que là havia, estavaõ esperando por mim para repartirem em minha presença todas as pessoas, que daquella banda estavaõ, ficando eu de lhe pagar todos os gastos, que nisso se fizessem. Eu os festejei, & lhes disse, que ainda hontem chegãra, que parecia razaõ accommodar primeyro os que estavaõ da banda do Chamba, que era aonde eu estava, & que depois passaria là a fazer o que me tinhaõ dito.

Logo no mesmo dia veyo ter comigo hum negro Christão, que alli vivia, ao qual chamavão Andrè, que servia de lingoa àquelles Reys quando alli vinhão Portuguezes; este me levou para sua casa, & nella estive atè me vir para Inhambane. Ao outro dia me veyo ver o Rey, que tenho dito, com o qual tratei de accommodar a gente por casas dos negros que mais posses tivessem, & elle lhe pareceo isto bem, mas disse-me, que aquelle dia não podia ser, porque era necessario mandalos chamar, que ao outro dia viria cedo, & os traria todos, & assim o fez, & depois de os ter ali todos me disse, que havia de pagar os gastos, que aquelle gente fizesse, disse-lhe, que eu os pagaria, & elle rindo-se me respondeo, que não havia em mim, com que pudesse comprar hum frango, por estar ainda despido, como se haviaõ elles de confiar: ao que respondi, que mais valia a palavra de hũ Portuguez, que todas as riquezas dos Cafres, & no fim de muytas palavras, que houve de parte a parte, que he o de que se mais prezaõ, me fez prometter de lhe pagar tudo o que com elles gastasse, & o Rey disse, que ficava por meu fiador. E logo reparti os Portuguezes, segundo me dizia este negro Christão, & chamando-os por seu

nome me dizia : A este Cafre pôde v. m. dar algum homem grave, porque he bom negro, & rico ; & assim ficãrão accommodados todos os da banda do Chamba, que fica da parte do cabo das Correntes, & passando-me à outra banda, onde me fizeraõ muyta festa, fiz o mesmo.

He este rio fermosissimo, tem de largo meya legoa, & da banda do Camba bom surgidouro para embarcações de atè trezentas toneladas, fica no meyo a mayor parte em seco de bayxamar, aonde ha muyto marisco, de que os Cafres se aproveytaõ, a terra em si he muyto sádia, & mais farta, & barata, que já mais se vio, abundantissima de mantimentos, como he milho, ameychueyra, jugos, que são como grãos, mungo, gergelim, mel, manteyga, muyto fermosos boys, dos quaes val cada hum por mayor que seja dous bertangis, muytas cabras, & carneyros, o peyxe he o melhor que comi em toda a India, & tão barato, que he espanto, porque dam por hum bertangil, ou motava de contas, que ainda val menos, cem tainhas muyto grandes. Os matos todos são cheyos de laranjas, & limões, tem muyta madeyra, de que se podem fazer embarçoens.

As ventagas, que hà na terra são muyto ambre, & marfim, alli tem ido muytas vezes os Olandezes, & segundo me disse o Matatima, que he hum dos Reys, desejavaõ ter alli comercio, & que os mais dos annos passando por alli, mandavaõ os bateis a terra resgatar laranjas, & vacas, & que depois que lhes tomárão hum batel matando-lhe a gente, não os mandavaõ a terra, mas que os Cafres hiaõ as Náos. Muyto receyo senhoreem estes inimigos este porto, pelo que sey de algũa gente delle, q̃ aqui não digo por me não alargar, & porque sey se não ha de remediar isto, por mais que escreva. Aqui estive muyto mimoso destes Cafres, principalmente dos Reys, & antes que me fosse morreraõ sete pessoas, entendo que foy de muyto comer, porque vinhamos muyto fracos, & debilitados, & depois com a fartura não repararão no que lhes podia succeder, & foraõ os seguintes, Thomè Coelho de Almeyda, Vicente Esteves, João Gomes, Joaõ Gonçalves o Balono, o Condestable, & Bras Gonçalves.

Vendo que havia dous annos, que alli não vinha embarcaçaõ, & que corria risco não vir aquella monçaõ, me disse o Motepe, que he o negro, que servia de lingoa, que como passassem tres mezes, & os Cafres não vissem donde lhes podessemos pagar os gastos, que a gente tinha feyto, que a mim se haviaõ de tornar

todos, que fosse a Zofala, que como eu era tão conhecido, não faltaria quem me emprestasse quatro bares de fato, com que viesse resgatar aquella gente, & que elle fallaria com os Reys, dizendo-lhes, que indo eu a Zofala faria vir logo embarcação cõ roupa para pagar os gastos dos Portuguezes. Eu estava entã muyto doente, & disse-lhe, que me não atrevia, porque havia de morrer logo no caminho. E indo-se ter com o Padre Frey Diogo lhe contou o que passava, o qual me pedio muy encarecidamente, quizesse fazer esta jornada, que não houvesse medo de morrer no caminho, que quem hia a cousa de tanto serviço de Deos, elle teria cuydado particular de o guardar. Eu disse, que faria o que me pedia, que fosse o Motepe fallar com os Reys para me darem negros que me acompanhassem, o que fez logo, & elles rindo-se, disserãõ, que me não havia de ir de sua terra, porque eu era o penhor de toda aquella gente. Com tudo là lhes deu tantas razões este negro, que o acabou com elles, dando-lhes huns panos que para isso me emprestou, os quaes lhes paguey tres vezes dobrados. E tendo licença ordeney de levar hum companheyro Portuguez comigo pelo que podia acontecer, & este foy o mais bem desposto, que havia na companhia, & se chamava Antonio Martinz, & depois de os Reys me darem vinte negros para me acompanharem, me despedi de todos com muytas lagrimas, os quaes estavaõ muy desconfiados de eu tornar por elles, dizendo, que de Zofala me iria para minha casa, & que elles alli morreriaõ. Ouvindo eu isto, tomey as mãos do Padre Frey Diogo, & beyjando-as, fiz hũ voto solemne a Deos em alta voz, em o qual prometti a vir buscalos, se a morte mo não atalhasse, & com isto ficárão mais quietos, & eu me parti a dous de Junho com a companhia, que tenho dito, ficando a pedraria enterrada em hum cabaço, da qual sabiamos duas pessoas, que a trouxêrão & o Padre Frey Diogo.

E tendo andado aquelle dia todo fomos passar hum rio, & dormindo da outra banda, se vieraõ ajuntar mais Cafres à companhia carregados com marfim, & ambre para venderem em Zofala, & assim o foraõ fazendo por todas as terras a diante, de maneyra que cheguey a levar comigo mais de cem Cafres, & faziaõ isto pelo respyto, que por aqui se tem a hum Portuguez. Por todo este caminho fuy muy bem agasalhado, & o que mais pena me dava nesta jornada, era a detença, que me faziaõ ter os regulos, que por aqui hà, que ainda que esta gente esteja mais perto de

nòs, que a do Cabo de boa Esperança, fazem mais espanto quando vem hum Portuguez. E depois de ter andado quinze dias, fuy ter à povoação de outro regulo mayor, que os que tinha visto, ao qual chamam o Inhame, & tinha vinte molheres, & querendo-me eu ir logo ao outro dia, o não quiz elle consentir, dizendo-me, que tinha seus parentes longe dalli, & que os tinha mandado chamar para me verem, porque nunca por alli tinha passado Portuguez algum, & assim parecia pela muyta gente que concorria a verme, os quaes davaõ muytos gritos, & alaridos, fazendo festa; & se me não importàra chegar de pressa a Zofala, não me sahia isto em perda, pelas muytas cousas, que me traziaõ, de que toda a companhia comia, & ainda sobejàva muyto, que depois levàraõ para os caminhos onde não havia povoações.

Daqui a alguns dias fuy ter com outro regulo, que está de frente das Ilhas do Bazarito, que chamaõ Osanha, o qual me fez o mesmo. E dahi atravessey hum rio, que em baxamar fica em seco, & tem de largo mais de tres legoas: passado elle fiz o caminho sempre pela praya atè vespora de Santiago, que cheguey a Molomono que saõ jà terras de hum mulato por nome Luis Pereyra, o qual vive em Zofala, & he a mais venerada pessoa, que nestas partes hà. Antes que chegasse à povoação soube como nella estavaõ dous filhos seus, aos quaes mandey hum escrito, que trazia feyto para mandar a Zofala antes que là chegasse hũa legoa, em que dava conta de como vinha, & pedia me fizessem esmola de me mandar por amor de Deos huma camiza, & huns calções para poder ir diante delles com minhas vergonhas cubertas; & dando lhes o escrito, me mandàraõ o que pedia, & huma capa, com que fuy cuberto; & elles me vieraõ esperar ao caminho, onde os abraçey com muytas lagrimas, & porque eu vinha sem semelhança de creatura, me fizerãõ deytar em hum esquife; & pedindo-lhe me fizessem mercè querer mandar quatro Cafres seus com hũa rede, em que eu tinha vindo em busca do meu companheyro, que me ficava atraz muyto mal duas legoas, o fizerão logo, & ao outro dia me fizerãõ concertar hũ luzio para nelle passar a Zofala. Atè qui me morreraõ dezasete Cafres por a terra ser muyto chea de alagoas fedorentas, & eu, & meu companheyro estavamos muyto mal, & embarcando-nos fomos dormir aquella noyte a Quelvame tambem terras de Luis Pereyra, aonde me matàraõ hum carneyro, & fizerãõ muyta festa.

Ao outro dia à tarde vinte oyto de Julho fomos a Zofala, &

como os casados, & Luis Pereyra virão vir a embarcação pelo rio acima foraõ à borda delle, aonde os Cafres com muyto grandes gritos disseraõ: Muzungos, muzungos, & faltando logo dentro me vieraõ abraçar, & eu que apenas podia andar, fuy com elles fazer oraçam á Igreja aonde pedi mandassem trazer o meu companheyro, que vinha tal, que depois de chegar pedio confissão, & confessando-se deu a alma a Deos, & alli o enterráraõ logo, ficando eu desconsoladissimo. Dalli me mandou levar Luis Pereyra para humas casas, aonde me mandou dar todo o necessario atè que Dom Luis Lobo veyo, que era Capitaõ da dita fortaleza, & como eu estava já muyto mal, me levou para casa onde estive ungido; & depois de estar alguns dias convalescente, lhe pedi me quizesse fazer mercè emprestar ouro, com que pudesse comprar quatro bares de fato, & que lhe daria todos os ganhos, q̃ elle quizesse, & obrigaria todas as fazendas que sabia tinha na India, & que além de não arriscar nada, me fazia muyto grande mercè, & esmola aos homens que em Inhambane estavaõ, que como era morto Nuno da Cunha, que era o Capitaõ daquellas partes, & havia pouco fato, não havia de ir lá pangayo, & elles ficariaõ parecendo. Elle me disse faria tudo o que lhe pedia com obrigar minhas fazendas, como logo fiz.

E porque a disposição, em que estava, lhe não parecia capaz para tanto trabalho, me requereraõ não fizesse tal viagem, lembrando-me qual era o estado em que estava, & as muytas mercès, que Deos me tinha feyto em me livrar donde tantos acabàraõ, & pois estava em terra de Christãos, que me deyxasse ficar, que hũ homem era mais obrigado a si, que a outrem ninguem. Ao que eu disse, que nunca Deos quizesse, que perigos da vida fossem parte para deyxar de fazer o que tinha de obrigação, que era ir buscar meus companheyros. E vendo elles esta deliberação, se não cansáraõ mais em me fazerem estas lembranças, & comprando hum luzio grande a Luis Pereyra por cento & vinte metiquaes, meti os quatro bares de roupa, que tinha comprado, & levando comigo hũ companheyro Portuguez casado na propria fortaleza, me parti para Inhambane a quinze de Agosto, & pela detença, que fiz em Quelvame cheguey com muytas tormentas milagrosamente por cima de Inhambane dez legoas, & cuydando não tinhamos ainda là chegado, queriaõ os Malemos ir por diante, & como eu conhecia a terra por haver pouco que por ella tinha passado, disse, que nos ficava atraz, & fazendo para là nosso

caminho vimos dahi a tres horas a Ilha, que na boca tem, & indo entrando pelo rio acima chegámos à tarde a Inhambane, onde me vieraõ todos receber com muytas lagrimas, dizendo, que a mim se me devia tudo, & que eu os vinha tirar do cativeyro de Faraõ, & que os Cafres já lhes não queriaõ dar de comer, & os deytavão fóra de suas casas, & que se tardàra mais dez dias morrèraõ todos sem nenhuma duvida: mas durou muyto pouco este conhecimento, porque depois que gastei em os resgatar tres bares de fato, despendendo, & pagando em particular quanto tinhaõ gastado, tratando de querer ir com hum bar, que me ficàva, às terras do Quevendo para dahi resgatar toda a pedraria, & pessas ricas que nos tinham roubado, para que seus donos me pagassem con fórme isto merecia, porque tanto que cheguei a Inhambane, mandei hum presente a este Rey Quevendo que foy o que depois de roubados nos trouxe a Inhambane, dando-nos de comer, como já tenho contado, o qual era dous panos de pate, & meya corja de bertangis, em agradecimento do que por nòs tinha feyto, o qual ficou taõ grande, que logo mandando ajuntar toda a sua gente, matando muytas vacas para celebrar cõ festas a taõ grande honra. Este me mandou dizer, que ficava esperando por mim para ir comigo onde nos roubárão a resgatar tudo quanto nos haviaõ tomado. E querendo me eu fazer prestes para a jornada, deyxando a todos livres, & com roupa para poderem comer largamente em quanto eu lá estivesse, me encontràraõ esta ida, fazendo queyxa aos Reys de Inhambane, dizendo, que para que consentiaõ irme eu, levando tanta roupa fóra das suas terras, devendo ficar toda onde nos agasalhàraõ: os quaes como ouviraõ isto, me mandàraõ dizer, que por nenhũa via me havia de bolir dalli, senaõ para Zofala, que empregasse a roupa, que me ficava em as mercadorias da terra, que eraõ ambre, & marfim, & logo determinàraõ de me roubar o que tinha, minando-me hũa noyte a casa.

Vendo eu, que todos quantos hiam na companhia erãõ contra mim, desisti da ida, que pretendia fazer, & mandei dizer ao Quevendo, que não podia ir là, que quizesse mandar hum recado aonde estavão os furtos, que viessem, que eu os resgataria, & que mandasse seu filho com elles. Respondeo-me, que me detivesse, que dalli a tempo de quinze dias viriaõ todos com o seu filho, & que para isso hia elle mesmo là ter com elles. E tanto que estes homens souberão, que eu havia de esperar pelos negros,

se forão todos à embarcação, em que tinha vindo, & a botárão ao mar, & antes que fosse monção me fizerão embarcar à força, porque até o Padre era contra mim. E fazendo-me dar à vella, tornamos a arribar por ser fóra de monção, & aquella costa ser muyto tormentosa. Depois tornando a sahir fóra, nos deu tão grande vento do mar, que nos fez dar à costa doze legoas de Inhambane, donde até Melonone fomos marchando, & dahi em almadias até chegar a Zofala. Veja vossa mercê a paga, que me derão de os eu ir a buscar com meu dinheyro, que se os não quizera trazer de Inhambane, & empregara la a roupa, que com elles gastey, em ambre, sem duvida, que trouxera mais de quinze mil cruzados por ser muyto, & haver dous annos, que não tinha ido roupa a este porto. E realmente, que me maravilho todas as vezes que imagino, que houve taes homens no mundo, que permittissem viesse hum estranho a resgatar o que haviamos trazido à custa de tantos, & tão grandes trabalhos, & padecendo tão excessivas fomes, como já tenho dito, antes que eu, que os vim servindo a todos, sem exceptuar nenhum, & por quem derramey muyto sangue, & a quem elles tinhaõ tanta obrigação. Seja Deos louvado com tudo: mas estimàra ficàra tudo isto em memoria, para que daqui por diante vissem, & attentassem os homens por quem deviaõ arriscar suas vidas, & perder suas fazendas.

Desta fortaleza de Zofala nos fomos para Moçambique com menos quatro companheyros nossos dos que aqui tinhamos chegado Antonio Sigala, que matàraõ em Zofala, Pero de Torres marinheyro, que se ausentou por hum furto, que tinha feyto, hũ Grumete, que ficou casado, & Fructuoso de Andrade, que cahio no mar na barra desta fortaleza, & chegamos a Moçambique as pessoas seguintes: o Padre Frey Diogo dos Anjos, Antonio Ferrão da Cunha, Vicente Lobo de Sequeyra, Andrè Velho Freyre, & tambem o Piloto Domingos Fernandes, & o Sotapiloto Francisco Alvarez, Miguel Correa escrivaõ, Pero Diniz tanoeyro, João Rodrigues de Leaõ, João Ribeyro de Lucen, Joaõ Rodrigues carpinteyro, Manoel Gonçalves, João Carvalho, João Tavares, Antonio Gonçalves, Manoel Gonçalves Belem, Sebastiaõ Rodrigues, Diogo de Azevedo, Salamam Frances, Ventura de Mesquita, Fructuoso Coelho, hum Grumete, que chamaõ o Candalatu, Domingos Salgado, Belchior Rodrigues, João Coelho, Alvaro Luis, & Luis Moreno.

Desembarcando em terra fomos todos em procissão a nossa

Senhora do Baluarte, levando hũa Cruz de pão diante, cantando todos as Ladainhas com muyta devação. E depois de darmos graças a Deos pelas muytas mercès, que nos tinha feyto de nos trazer a terra de Christãos, fez o Padre Frey Diogo hũa devota pratica, trazendo-nos à memoria os muytos trabalhos, de que Deos nos tinha livrado, & lembrando-nos a muyta obrigação que tinhamos todos de fazermos dalli por diante vida exemplar. Daqui se foraõ todos buscar embarcação para se virem para Goa.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE MISFORTUNE THAT BEFELL
THE SHIP *SÃO JOÃO BAPTISTA*,

AND OF THE JOURNEY OF THOSE WHO ESCAPED, FROM THE
PLACE WHERE SHE WAS WRECKED ON THE COAST
OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, IN LATITUDE 33°, TO
SOFALA, THE WHOLE OF WHICH JOURNEY
WAS PERFORMED BY LAND.

By
FRANCISCO VAZ D'ALMADA.

TO DIOGO SOARES, SECRETARY OF HIS MAJESTY'S
COUNCIL OF THE TREASURY, &c.

WRECK

OF THE SHIP *SÃO JOÃO BAPTISTA* ON THE COAST OF THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, IN THE YEAR 1622.

On the 1st of March 1622 we left the harbour of Goa with the flag-ship of which Nuno Alvares Botelho was commodore, in the ship *São João*, of which Pedro de Moraes Sarmiento was captain. After sailing fifteen or twenty days the pump showed fourteen or fifteen spans of water in the hold, which we endeavoured to clear out. But this proved impossible, the pumps of the ship being very small, as they had been made for a galleon and afterwards taken to pieces and enlarged, and only one of them was of any use. Using barrels as buckets we reduced the water to four spans, and continued our voyage, enduring great heat until we reached latitude 25°, and thereafter much cold.

On the 17th of July we parted from the flag-ship in the night, because we could not see her light; others say it was done by the will of the officers. For my part I can only tell you, as one who suffered much by the loss of the commodore's company, that I watched all night and never saw him.

On Sunday the 19th of July, in the morning, in latitude rather over 35° 30' we saw two Dutch ships ahead, and immediately made ready, putting the ship in readiness for fighting, which cost us a great deal of trouble, as she was much overburdened. Even so we fired upon them twice that afternoon, and having made a rampart of some bales of cloth, which proved an effectual shelter, for from that time they killed very few, while during the first two days, before we adopted this plan, they killed twenty of our men, we continued fighting with these two ships until after nineteen days we reached latitude 42°. During this time they fought with us only nine days, from sunrise to sunset, reducing us to the most miserable condition that can be imagined, for they broke off our bowsprit at the stays with their bombs, and broke the main-mast a yard and a half above the deck, and the

foresail and rudder, which was old, having belonged to a ship that went to pieces at Goa, where it had lain on the shore for two years, and so was rotten, such being the usual way of fitting out ships in this country. I say this because the want of a rudder caused our destruction, and it was in such a state that two shots sufficed to shatter it to pieces. This was not the only deficiency with which this ship left Goa, for there was no proper armament nor sufficient powder for fighting, and she carried only eighteen pieces of artillery of very small calibre, nevertheless we fought until we had only two barrels of powder and twenty-eight cartridges left.

Seeing that the ship was without any mast whatever and that the spare yards were so riddled with shot that the least damaged had nine holes in it, that the ship was foundering because the shot struck us a fathom under water, and the rudder in breaking wrenched away two of the gudgeons, leaving open their bolt holes, so that we were unable to overcome the leak and were on the point of sinking without any hope of remedy, though every soul on board worked at the pumps and scoops day and night, the religious endeavoured to arrange some plan to entertain the enemy, that in the meanwhile we might try to get the better of the water and stop up some of the holes. For this purpose I was asked if I would be one of those to go and treat with the Dutch for some honourable agreement. I had an argument with them upon the subject, and said that those who wished for such an agreement might go thither themselves and they were not my friends since they gave me such advice; and I went and stationed myself at the post which the captain had assigned to me, so that I saw neither boat on board nor any Dutch, and was consequently hated by many in the ship. They afterwards asked Luis da Fonseca and Manuel Peres to go and make the said agreement, and they set out to do so, but such severe and continual storms arose that we saw no more of the ship to which these two men were sent.

The other ship followed without attempting to board us, and sent a boat to learn whether we had seen their consort, for they had lost sight of her. Seeing that our ship continued to leak so much and that we were so unprovided and without resource, they enquired what determination we had taken, and all the people being very wretched and discouraged, we replied that we knew

nothing of their ship. With this answer the boat returned whence it came. We grew more and more disconsolate, for we suffered from the most notable storms and cold ever experienced by men. It snowed very often, so that many slaves died of the cold, and we felt their loss greatly for working the pumps and throwing things overboard, in which we were all employed unceasingly with great difficulty, because the storms and the rolling of the ship prevented us from lighting the fires, thus greatly increasing the hardships we endured. Being in this state, we made a jury-mast of the mizzen-mast and put it in the prow, with the spanker boom for a bowsprit, and so went wherever the wind carried us. Frequently the wind was favourable for reaching the shore and the ship went out to sea, for as she had no rudder nor means of steering, she drifted at the mercy of the gale. All this occurred in latitude 42° , the aforesaid ship following us constantly. One night as we were going seaward with her in a great storm and dense darkness, we struck our jury-mast and prayed to our Lady of the Conception to allow the ship to go landward that we might be separated from the one which followed us. And so it fell out, for at daybreak we were going landward, and so continued for many days. The Dutch ships, as we now know, went in quest of us as far as latitude 46° ; from this may be told in what state they arrived at Socotra.

It seemed to us, as I have said, that we were better off separated from the ships, on account of the continual storms and the leaks which opened again, the men being worn out with hardships, for besides those I have stated, they set about making a rudder, which was done on deck. This was prompted to the captain by the carpenter, who said that in this latitude and in such weather it was necessary to put one on, although vessels very often went without them in bays and rivers during slight disturbances in the weather. Captain Pedro de Moraes, who, though brave, had not much experience, would not take the advice of the ship's officers nor that of the most qualified persons on board, but followed that of an obstinate clown, refusing to make use of large oars, the usual resource of a ship without a rudder. And after all the rudder could never be fixed, though it was bound to the stern for fifteen days awaiting a lull in the weather to place it in position; and the ropes with which it was bound breaking, we lost it one night, which we considered a

mercy from God, for it was damaging the ship by perpetually bumping against her.

While this was being done we expected to go to the bottom every moment, and had now no other hope than the salvation of our souls. The religious who were in the ship exhorted the others to do penance for their sins, making processions nearly every day, and performing the discipline in which great and small took part without exception, all assisting with many tears. We held in all this misery that it was by the will of God that the enemy's ships had been separated from us, for we considered it a thing unheard of that a vessel without a rudder or sails should have come so far in such stormy regions and reached a port. In which a miracle of the Virgin was manifestly displayed, as related above.

After the loss of the rudder two sweeps were made, very well contrived from the pieces of the mast and bowsprit left in the ship. It may be affirmed that no human resource was left untried, for as the life of every one was at stake the labour was general. When the sweeps were finished, as there were no jury masts or wood to form them of, the ship was still unable to make progress, and lay helpless at the mercy of the waves, for the enemy had destroyed the greater part of the castles, leaving the nails and wood splintered and jagged, so that in the rolling of the ship people were thrown against them and hurt, and therefore they cleared all away.

In this confusion and extremity, on the 29th of September we found ourselves at daybreak two leagues from land, in latitude $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; and such was the joy of all on board that it might have been Lisbon harbour, no one thinking of the length of the road we were still to travel and the hardships which awaited us in the future. In the combat there fell on board no men of note excepting João d'Andrade Caminha and João de Lucena. Lopo de Sousa—may he be with God in heaven—and Captain Vidanha were stationed on deck, where they fought valiantly. Lopo de Sousa lost three toes of his left foot, and the foot was completely crushed; he received a wound in the hip, another in the stomach, another in the face, and two in the head. Captain Vidanha had two wounds, one in the head and another in the stomach. Thomé Coelho d'Almeida was stationed in the fore-castle, and Rodrigo Affonso de Mello aft on the poop. I was in

the steerage, which the enemy attacked most frequently, for every shot after the destruction of the bowsprit was aimed at the rudder under the gallery. I do not dwell here upon the manner in which we bore ourselves during this long fight, nor upon the damage suffered by the Dutch, because I hope that they will themselves make it known.

We could not reach the shore that day, much as we desired it, in order to cast anchor and land; but the next morning, which was the feast of St. Jerome, we found ourselves at daybreak lower down the coast and nearer the shore; and as the ship was unmanageable we feared she would drift out to sea. It appeared to us to be a sandy shore and good landing place, which we afterwards found to be a mistake, so we anchored in seven fathoms with two anchors. The captain then sent Rodrigo Affonso de Mello with fifteen arquebusiers to reconnoitre the shore and choose a good site from which to protect the landing. He acquitted himself with the zeal which he showed in all things, and he sent us some fresh water and fragrant herbs, which gave us great delight. As no incident of note occurred at this time, I will relate the following.

On board the ship was a man named Manuel Domingues, who was boatswain, and the captain gave him the post of master upon the death of that officer. This man became so proud, unruly, and insolent, that there were very few persons with whom he had not some quarrel. As the majority of the seamen were on his side, he became so bold that he went to the captain and said to him: "Sir, to-morrow morning you must get into the boat with thirty men whom I have chosen for the purpose; we must take all the jewels, and land three leagues from this place, where the chart shows a sandy shore; we have to traverse this land of Kaffraria as far as Cape Correntes, and travelling thus freely, thirty persons with only our arms, we may reach the aforesaid place, but to attempt the journey with a camp of women and children over such rough ground and for such a distance would be labour lost." Pedro de Moraes replied that he would not be guilty of such a deed, fearing the punishment of God, for what account could he render to God and men if he committed such an act of cruelty; and he bade him not to speak so boldly. The man replied that he would place him forcibly in the boat, whether he were willing or not. The captain, seeing the wicked

design of the man and all the trouble, sorrow, and loss which would be caused by his evil counsel, determined to kill him, and accordingly stabbed him to death the second day after the ship had anchored, although he was then behaving more cautiously. This death caused sorrow to few and rejoicing to many.

After this we landed the necessary provisions and arms, though with great difficulty, for it was a wild coast, and every time the boat approached it it was necessary to cast out a grapnel from the stern and go ashore holding on to the line in order to keep before the waves, so much so that once when they disregarded this plan eighteen persons were drowned in landing one boat load. This was the reason why we did not afterwards attempt to build some sort of vessel, for this coast is so stormy that we feared when it was made we would not be able to launch it.

On the 3rd of October as we were completing the landing of the things required for the journey by land and building huts to shelter us from the excessive cold of those regions during the time we remained there, those who kept watch raised an alarm that negroes were approaching. We took up arms, but as they approached us they gave the assagais which they carried to their children until they were quite close to us, and squatted down, clapping their hands and whistling softly, so that altogether it made a harmonious sound, and many women who were with them began to dance. These negroes are whiter than mulattoes; they are stoutly built men, and disfigure themselves with daubs of red ochre, crushed cinders, and ashes, with which they generally paint their faces, although they are really good looking. On this occasion they brought as a present an ox, very big and fine, and a leather bag of milk which the king gave to Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, who was serving as captain at the time, Pedro de Moraes being still on board the ship. The courtesy which this king did the aforesaid captain was to pass his beard through his hands many times. When in return for his present we had given the king some pieces of iron hoops and of cotton cloth, he went to the ox and ordered it to be cut open alive at the navel, and he with most of those who were with him plunged their hands into the entrails of the ox while it was still alive and bellowing, and anointed themselves with its dung. We understood that they performed these ceremonies as a sign of friendship

and good faith. After this they cut the ox into quarters and gave it to us, keeping for themselves the hide and entrails, which they placed on embers and ate on the spot.

During the month and six days that we remained in that place we could never understand a word these people said, for their speech is not like that of man, and when they want to say anything they make clicks with their mouths at the beginning, middle, and end, so that it may be said of these people that the earth is not all one, nor all mankind alike.

When we had entrenched ourselves on land we made a church covered with canvas and hung inside with Chinese cloth ornamented with gold and many other rich stuffs. Here three masses were said every day, and we all went to confession and communion. When the seamen declared that it was impossible to build a vessel, Captain Pedro de Moraes ordered the ship to be burnt, that the Kaffirs might not take the nails and make the rate of barter high for us; and that all the jewels in the ship should be placed as they were in a leather bag in which they were to be carried sealed by the men to whom they were entrusted, all this with authentic documents declaring that as the labour of defending them fell upon all, it seemed but just that whatever reward and profit was derived from them should also be shared by all, each according to his rank and conduct.

During this time we traded for cows, which we ate, though there were not as many as we required. We kept those which seemed fit for work in an enclosure of stakes, accustoming them to carry pack-saddles, which were very well made out of carpets, for there was no lack of workmen in the company who knew how to construct them. I, having reached the land suffering from gout and scurvy, seeing the long way we had to travel, endeavoured to make excursions during this time, and taking the best of our seven guns went out hunting, sometimes in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope and sometimes in that of Cape Correntes; and being the son of a hunter and reared to the chase this was a pleasure to me and did me good, so that at the end of the month and six days which we remained there I was so strong and healthy that I may say there was no one in the camp in better condition than myself.

On the 6th of November we set out from that place in latitude 33° in a properly formed caravan, consisting of two hundred and

seventy-nine persons divided into four bodies, the captains of which were Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, Thomé Coelho d'Almeida, Antonio Godinho, and Sebastião de Moraes. The company of Affonso de Mello and that of Sebastião de Moraes marched in front, that of Captain Pedro de Moraes was in the middle with the baggage and women, and Thomé Coelho and Antonio Godinho brought up the rear. We had with us seventeen oxen laden with provisions and articles necessary for barter, and four litters in which were Lopo de Sousa, Beatriz Alvares, wife of Luis da Fonseca, Dona Ursula, who was the wife of Domingos Cardoso de Mello, and the mother of Dona Ursula. This day was very rainy, and as things were not yet very well arranged we walked for about a league and halted upon the banks of a river of fresh water, where we passed a very bad night on account of the incessant rain. This country is crossed in every direction by rivers of very good water, and is also provided with wood, but there is a lack of fruit and provisions, though it seems as if the soil would yield abundant crops of any seed sown in it. The inhabitants live solely upon shell-fish, certain roots found in the earth, and the produce of the chase. They have no knowledge of any seed or other kind of provisions. They are healthy and courageous, and perform notable feats of strength and agility, for they will pursue a bull and hold it fast, though these animals are of the most monstrous size imaginable.

The next day, which was the 7th of November, we continued our journey close to the shore. When we had gone about three leagues we pitched our camp in the afternoon on the bank of a river, and placed our tents in a circle, within which we put the cows at night, posting sentinels and making rounds with great care and vigilance. But this did not prevent the Kaffirs from stealing all our cattle, though not without damage to themselves, for these Kaffirs are great hunters and always have their dogs with them, and the cows are reared with the dogs that guard them from lions and tigers, which are found on this coast, and at their approach the dogs rouse the cattle by their barking; and thus they are always together and mingle with each other, and though brute beasts know and make much of each other. As the cows were driven from the country where they were bred they lowed continually, as if with longing. During the third watch the Kaffirs came and let loose the dogs among them with

loud whistling and shouts, and the cows, hearing them, jumped through the tents and fled with the dogs behind them. We followed, fighting with the Kaffirs, and we killed the son of their king and many of his company, and they wounded three of our men.

This was a very sad day for us when they carried off our cattle that were laden with all our provisions, and were themselves destined for the same purpose. We had with us a Kaffir who came to us at the place where we landed, a native of the islands of Angosha, whom only our Kaffirs could understand. He was a prisoner, because he had promised to guide us and did not do so, and so we were obliged to hold him captive. He told us that within twenty days as the Kaffirs travel, which would be two months at our speed, we would come to cows; but until then the country was a desert, as we afterwards found, and it extended even farther than he said. We continued our journey in order, each one subsisting every day upon what he could carry on his shoulders besides his arms and articles for barter, which were divided among all, so that every one was heavily burdened. The dews were so heavy that we were generally wet till noon, when the sun dispersed them; but this was a light hardship compared with the rains which generally afflicted us, and other greater miseries and extremities which we afterwards suffered and in which many lost their lives.

About the 21st of this month on descending a very high mountain we reached a river which we crossed in the space of two days. This was the first river that we crossed on rafts, and we called it the Musk river, because the captain ordered all the musk we had to be thrown into it, in order to lighten the burden of those who carried it. After two days' journey over very high stony mountains, we reached a shore of loose stones and a river which we crossed on a raft that we made. On the opposite bank we came upon some Kaffir hunters, who sold us a little hippopotamus meat, which was a great relief to us. We called this stream the Shrimp river, because they sold us many there. Thence we journeyed over a mountain until we returned to the shore of loose stones, along which we travelled with great difficulty.

Here a most pitiful incident occurred, which time showed us to be a great cruelty. There was a young white girl in the

company, daughter of an old Portuguese who died in the ship; he was a rich man, and was taking his daughter to Portugal to become a nun. She was carried in a litter, but those who bore it for a sum of two thousand cruzados grew too weak, and as she had no one but her brother, a young boy, to impress upon the captain the cruelty of leaving a young and beautiful girl in the desert to the lions and tigers, such compassion was not shown as the case demanded, although the captain made some efforts, taking up the litter himself, in which he was imitated by all the nobles in the company, to see if their example would move any of the others to do so, promising them a much larger sum than had previously been offered. But, in spite of all, no one could be found to do it, nor were we really able, on account of the hunger we then endured. She travelled the next day on foot supported by two men, but being extremely weak she could only walk very slowly. So we brought her along until she could not go a step farther, and began to weep and bewail herself that she was so unfortunate that for her sins, among so many people, where four litters were carried, there was no one to bear hers for any money, though it was the lightest in the company, she being so thin and small, and uttered many other pitiful words with great sorrow. Then she asked for confession, and afterwards exclaimed aloud so that she might be heard: "Father Bernardo, I am greatly consoled, for it cannot be but that God will have mercy on my soul, as since He is pleased that I should suffer such misery and hardships at so tender an age, allowing me to be abandoned in a desert to the lions and tigers with none to take compassion upon me, He will surely permit that all shall be for my salvation." Saying these words she threw herself upon the ground and covered herself with a mantle of black taffeta which she wore, and every now and then as the people passed by she uncovered her head and said: "Ah! cruel Portuguese, who have no compassion upon a young girl, a Portuguese like yourselves, and leave her to be the prey of animals; our Lord bring you to your homes." I remained behind all the others, consoling her brother, who was with her, and begging him to go forward, which he refused to do, sending word to the captain that he would stay with his sister. The captain bade me not by any means to allow it, but to bring him with me, which I did, consoling him; but his grief was such that a few days afterwards he

was also left behind. See, Sir, if this be not a grievous incident. For my part I can say that these and other similar spectacles caused me more sorrow than the hunger and hardships which I endured.

Journeying thus for three days, we came to a river which discharged itself on a sandy shore, where we found some shell-fish, at which we rejoiced greatly because of the extreme hunger we were enduring. We remained here one afternoon for the tide to finish ebbing that we might cross, but the delay was greater than we expected, and the people being so famished ate certain beans that they found upon the banks of the river, which brought us all to the point of death, and had it not been for the quantity of bezoar stone which we had with us, not one would have escaped. And yet every hour famine brought us into the same danger, driving us to eat all kinds of herbs and fruit which we found, and knowledge of the danger could not suffice to prevent us from eating them.

In the midst of this extremity we derived great benefit from the quantity of wild fig-trees which we found in that country, upon the stalks of which and a quantity of nettles we lived for many days. We remained by this river for two days, waiting to recover from our accident. When we set out again we were followed by a few Kaffirs who had stolen two large kettles from us, and as we did not punish them as their insolence deserved, they made such small account of us that they hurled their wooden assegais among us. But they instantly paid for their daring, for the ship's carpenter, who was the nearest, fired his gun at one of them, the bullet breaking his arms and entering his breast. The Kaffirs, seeing the harm done them by a single one of our weapons, took to flight, and we proceeded on our way.

We were now reduced to such straits by famine that we were obliged to eat the refuse cast up by the sea, as star-fish and jelly-fish. Our necessity was so great that he who had any food would not part with it, though he saw a friend or relation perishing with hunger. In all these extremities, praise be to God, I came off better than many, for I carried the best and surest gun in the company, and thus I never lacked game more or less, though I had great trouble in seeking and finding it, the country being very bare of birds and beasts, so that I never had an opportunity to kill a large animal. I divided whatever

I shot with those I thought proper, and concealed the rest so that only the sailors knew of it. This was necessary, because of the hatred, illwill, and perils which otherwise might have arisen.

We continued on our way for several days until we reached a river in which there were many crabs, and which the heavy rains prevented us from crossing. The next day in the morning a notable incident occurred, which was as follows. In the country which lay behind us, the captain Pedro de Moraes was told that Sebastião de Moraes, captain of one of the divisions and calling himself his kinsman, was endeavouring to persuade those of his company, who were mostly inexperienced youths, to go forward with him, take the jewels from us, and separate, upon pretext of travelling with more speed. Acting upon this, Pedro de Moraes very secretly opened the bag and took from it the eight packets of rough diamonds which it contained, placed them in a wallet which he entrusted to Vicente Esteves, the ship's carpenter, in whom he had great confidence, and filled the bag with stones of about the same weight as those he had removed. This was done with such secrecy that very few knew of it. While we were on the bank of this river, where we remained because we were all nearly famished, it happened that the carpenter's negroes saw an extra wallet in his tent, which their master would trust to no one. Thinking it must contain rice, they joined with the captain's negroes and resolved to open it in the night, which they did, taking out one of the packets that they mistook for a measure of rice, which is usually carried in little packets containing a measure apiece. They carried the packet into the woods to open it, and finding that it contained precious stones, feared they would be hanged for their theft, and fled with it.

In the morning the carpenter, seeing the wallet rifled, rushed to the captain, crying out that the jewels were stolen. These stones being our only hope, we took up arms and hurried to the tent of Captain Sebastião de Moraes, where we found the bag full and fastened with the same locks as before, so that we thought the whole thing was a hoax. Captain Pedro de Moraes in great vexation told us the aforesaid story, and that the bag contained no jewels, and showing the place where they had been we perceived the theft. Attaching full belief to the carpenter's story, without verifying it further, the captain ordered Sebastião

de Moraes to be seized and his hands to be bound behind him, together with four men of his company, one of whom in his blind passion he put to cruel torture, though these poor men were quite innocent of the theft. The man who was put to this rigorous torture was named João Carvalho. The poor wretch called upon the Virgin Mary of the Conception to assist him, and she permitted that the true thieves should be discovered at that time; and if the discovery had been delayed the captain would have had them hanged. The innocence of these four men being now evident, the captain released them, keeping their captain Sebastião de Moraes still a prisoner.

Then the captain summoned the chief men of the company, who were, Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, Captain Gregorio de Vidanha, Thomé Coelho d'Almeida, Vicente Lobo de Sequeira, Antonio Godinho, and myself. To each of us privately he showed a charge which he had prepared against Sebastião de Moraes, in which he was called a restless rebel, the head of a faction, a mutineer, and that it was feared he would be our destruction by making a division with those of his company, and would go off with them after robbing us, leaving the camp weaker for want of these fighting men, who were the best we had, with other incriminating charges of this kind. He told us that the peace of the camp demanded that this man should be put to death, for his life might be the source of great trouble which his death would prevent. Then he called upon us to vote on the subject, and all voted as their judgment prompted. When it came to my turn I said that I was no chief judge to sentence a man to death, and if he wished to order his execution he must bring another calumny against him. He answered me in these words: "Would you dare say this if I had injured him?" I was silent, and he went to the hut of Lopo de Sousa to inform him of the matter. After drawing up certain deeds he ordered the accused to be beheaded. No sufficient cause for his death being known, it did not fail to be a source of wonder, and was looked upon as a great piece of cruelty, especially at such a time when we had need of all our comrades, and this man being young and of a good disposition.

We continued our journey through these deserts, climbing and descending very rugged mountains, and crossing many rivers which were full of seacows and other strange animals.

Here we killed the aforesaid Kaffir whom we had found at the place where we disembarked, and who said that he came from Angosha. In return for what we gave him he had promised to accompany us and show us the way, and as he tried many times to escape from us we held him prisoner. Fearing that he would tell the Kaffirs of our weak points and that our guns were useless through the rain, which he was perpetually inquiring about from our negroes, and he frequently saw us try to fire them without success because they were wet, besides which he would sometimes tell us one thing and then the contrary, and for all these reasons we resolved to put him to death.

We continued our journey until about the 15th of December, and reached a river, being all half-dead with hunger, so that the sailors and ship's boys in the camp sold a measure of rice for a hundred and fifty pardaos, the price rising to a hundred and eighty, some persons spending more than four thousand pardaos on this, among whom were Dona Ursula, for her own subsistence and that of her children, and Beatriz Alvares. We were very sad, because we were losing many of our company, but none through sickness, the country being very healthy. Here a thing befell me which I have sufficient confidence to relate, and also because it was well known to all. Before we came down to the river, at the top of the mountain the captain bade me go forward with fifteen arquebusiers about a league to see if we could discover a kraal, for we had now reached the place where the Kaffir had told us we would find cows. Having advanced about half a league along a winding made by the river through a plain, I saw a kraal of fifteen straw huts, and in order not to alarm the Kaffirs I ordered six men to advance and see if there was any kind of provision which they would sell us. But they excused themselves, saying that there appeared to be many people in the kraal and we were too far off to succour them. At this I was very angry, and after arguing with them I chose the four best arquebusiers, who were João Ribeiro, Cypriano Dias, Francisco Luis, and the ship's steward, with whom I descended the mountain and crossed a valley which lay between us and the negroes' kraal, in which there was a river then at high tide, and we crossed it with the water to our necks.

Having reached the entrance of their enclosure, we requested them to sell us something to eat, speaking to them by signs, and

putting our hands to our mouths, for by inadvertence or forgetfulness we had no interpreter with us to explain the object of our coming, and we had not asked the captain for one because these Kaffirs could understand those we had brought with us from India. The negroes were amazed at seeing us white and clothed, and the women and children shouted to those of the other kraal which was in the thicket. Their husbands who were with them followed us closely, throwing their assagais at us. Seeing the harm which they might do us I ordered João Ribeiro to fire his arquebus at them, which he immediately did, but it hung fire, and the Kaffirs grew more enraged, thinking that the striking of a light was witchcraft. Seeing the danger we were in, I pointed the gun in their faces and killed three at one shot, for I always fire with one ball and three pellets. These deaths caused great amazement, and the others paused in the fury with which they were advancing.

I loaded the gun again, and we proceeded very slowly. When we reached the bank of the river aforesaid we found it almost dry, and a fishgarth with two deep trenches full of fish, which we opened. Then our comrades, who had heard the report of the gun, came down, and we loaded ourselves with this fish, which was a great relief at that time. We were anxious on account of what had occurred, for the captain had enjoined us to be patient and not to fall out with the Kaffirs, because he thought it would lead to a general rising and warfare throughout the whole of Kaffraria, which would end in our destruction. But the contrary proved to be the case, for thenceforward, and afterwards when we were obliged to kill some of them in different parts, they came from the same kraals to ask us to give something for the wife or child of him who was killed.

On our return to the captain we made him a fine present of fish, at which he rejoiced greatly, and when he was well satisfied with the sight of a thing so much desired on account of the great hunger, we related what had happened. He was much grieved, and I made no doubt but that some evil would befall me through this, and that it would cost me dear, because all disorders were very rigorously chastised. That same day, as the captain was going down to the river he saw a Kaffir, who on being spoken to said that farther on there were cows and some grain. Then the captain asked Rodrigo Afonso de Mello to go with twenty men

and see what was to be found. The negro went with them, but afterwards told them to return, because it was getting late, and he would come the next day and conduct them to the place he had spoken of. Rodrigo Affonso followed his advice, and making his way towards the kraal where we had killed the three negroes he found them still unburied, and the negroes pointed them out with great fear and dread, at which Rodrigo Affonso was surprised, for he had not heard of what had taken place. They told him that the dead were to blame, because they had commenced hostilities, and so they had reported to their king; and they gave him some of their produce, which was calabashes and green water-melons. Rodrigo Affonso gave them two little pieces of copper, which is the best article for barter in these parts, after which he returned.

The next day the same Kaffir came again, and Rodrigo Affonso went with him, and they travelled a day and a night; and on the way he met in a valley the son of the king of whom the Kaffirs had spoken, with a hundred men all well armed with iron assagais. He was on his way to visit our captain, and had with him the most splendid ox we had ever seen, without horns, and he made the captain a present of it. The next day they brought four cows, which they sold to us, saying that if we would remain there eight days they would bring us as many as we wished, but if we would not they said we should wait until the next day, and they would bring us twenty cows for sale. We did so, but they never came.

The men were growing weak, especially those who carried the litters, and the provisions were finished, and now we were rested, therefore, as we gathered from what the Kaffir said that the country was well provided, we resolved to go on. Next day we went and slept near a swamp which had no frogs in it, at which we were much grieved. The famine which we now suffered was intolerable, and all the dogs in the camp that could be killed were eaten. They make very good food—not speaking of times of famine—for often when I had cow's flesh and there was a fat dog to be had I chose the latter and left the beef, and so did many others. The men who carried the litters now refused to do so any longer, being unable, and when the captain tried to force some of them to do so, a sailor named Rezão fled to the Kaffirs in that place.

After journeying a few days we came to a river, and on the side in the direction of the Cape, upon a height, there was a kraal of fishermen, and we pitched our camp upon the other bank. They brought us for sale a kind of dough made of a seed finer than mustard which grows on a herb that sticks to everything. It tasted very good to those who were able to get any of it. Here all the men who carried the litters assembled in a body, saying that if no one in the camp could take a step for want of food and all were half-dead, what could be expected of them who carried the litters upon their shoulders? that they might be ordered to be put to death, but they could carry them no farther, though they were offered all the treasures in the world; and it seemed to them that they had done enough in carrying the litters for more than a month and a half up and down mountains, and they were ready to forego all that had been promised them for their past labour. All this they urged with a loud outcry and tears. Then the religious intervened, saying to the captain that he had no right to force any one to undertake mortal labour, that one man had already fled to the Kaffirs, and all these poor men looked the picture of death. The captain then assembled all the people, and in a loud voice ordered a proclamation to be made that he would give eight thousand cruzados to any four men who would carry Lopo de Sousa on their shoulders, and the same for any of the women who were in the litters, and he would immediately pay the money into their hands, each according to his share. But no one came forward in answer to this proclamation.

In this place, for my sins, I witnessed the cruellest incidents and the most grievous sights which ever occurred or can be imagined. The women who were in the litters were asked if they could accompany us on foot, for anything else was impossible, and for their sakes we had come very slowly and were very backward in our journey, and many of our company had died of hunger, and there was no one willing to carry them for any money. Upon the advice of a religious, who was a theologian, it was decided not to wait for any one who could not walk, for our numbers were decreasing. Therefore those who had strength to walk were given until the next day to decide, and those who were to remain would be left with many others in the camp who were weak and ill in the kraal of fishermen opposite to us.

Imagine what such a decision was to Beatriz Alvares, who had with her four children, three of tender age, to Dona Ursula, who had three little children, the eldest eleven years old, and her old mother, who would necessarily be left behind, her husband, Dona Ursula's father, being already dead, to say nothing of Lopo de Sousa, that honourable and valiant nobleman, who had fought as such on board the ship, from which his wounds were still open, and he suffered from diarrhœa. This to me was the greatest grief and sorrow of all, for we were brought up together in Lisbon and served in India at the same time.

All that night was spent in tears, lamentations, and taking leave of those who were to be left behind. It was the most pitiful sight ever witnessed, and whenever I think of it I cannot restrain my tears. The next day it was known that Beatriz Alvares would remain with two of her three boys and a girl two years old, a lovely little creature. We took her youngest son with us, though against her will, that a whole generation might not be left to perish there. There remained also Maria Colaça, mother of Dona Ursula, Lopo de Sousa, and three or four persons who were very weak and could not accompany us. They all confessed themselves with great sorrow and tears, so that it seemed a cruel thing that we could not remain with them rather than suffer such a parting.

On one side we saw Beatriz Alvares, a delicate and gently nurtured lady, with a little girl of two years on the breast of a Kaffir woman who remained with her and would not consent to abandon her, a little son five years old, and another of seventeen. The latter showed the utmost courage and love, behaving in the noblest manner possible in such a situation, for his mother told him many times that she was half-dead, her old disease of the liver having made great progress, so that she had not many days to live, even if she had been surrounded with every comfort, that his father had gone in one of those ships which had fought against us and was probably dead, and that he was young and ought to go with us. All the religious likewise surrounded and reasoned with him, saying that he risked not only his body but also his soul by remaining in a land of infidels, where he might be perverted by their evil customs and ceremonies. To these he replied with great courage that God would have mercy on his soul, that he had always looked upon them as his friends but

now thought differently, for what excuse could he give to men if he left his mother in the hands of barbarous Kaffirs?

On the other side was Dona Ursula bidding farewell to her mother who was to remain, and the sorrowful words can be imagined which they spoke to each other, and the grief which it caused us. All took leave of Lopo de Sousa, and he, seeing that I had not done so, ordered his litter to be carried to the tent where I was, and he spoke these words aloud to me with great spirit: "How now, Senhor Francisco Vaz d'Almada, are you not that friend who was brought up with me at school, and were we not always together in India? have you nothing to say to me now?" Think what my feelings must have been on seeing a nobleman whose faithful servant I was in such a state. I rose up and embraced him, saying: "I confess my weakness, your Worship, I had no courage to see one whom I love so much in such straits," and I begged him to pardon me if I had offended him in this. He, whose eyes had hitherto been dry, could not restrain his tears at this, and he bade those who carried him go forward, and when I would have gone with him to the Kaffir kraal where he was to remain he would not suffer it, and covering his face with his hands he said: "Rest in peace, my friend, and remember my soul when God shall bring you to a land where that is possible." I confess that this was the greatest sorrow that I had hitherto endured.

The captain gave him articles of barter, such as many pieces of copper and tin, which are more valuable than anything else in these parts, and two cauldrons. Two men, named Gaspar Fixa and Pedro de Duenhas, secretly remained behind here.

We set out full of sorrow, making our way over high mountains; and that night we camped on the bank of a river where we found some little crabs, which were no small blessing to us. The next day we went upon our road, and pitched our camp at night by a fresh river, along which there were three or four kraals, to which we sent a Kaffir interpreter to learn whether they had any cows or any one who could tell us of any. In the meanwhile we went famishing to a stony point formed by the shore, to look for shell-fish and to cut wild fig-trees for food. At night we returned to the tents which we had left pitched, well pleased, for we had cut many fig-trees to eat; and here we heard that the interpreter had returned, bringing two negroes with

him, who asked for two men and a piece of copper, and they would take them to a place where there were cows, and if they carried copper they would bring cows in the morning.

The captain joyfully agreed, and sent Fructuoso d'Andrade and Gaspar Dias, who took with them what the Kaffirs advised, and we were greatly rejoiced, expecting they would bring back very good tidings, upon which the lives of all depended. It pleased God that the next day at ten o'clock we should see these men returning joyfully, bringing a cow and information that they had seen many kraals and cows at all of them. Then the cow was ordered to be killed and divided, and it was eaten roasted. It was our habit not to reject anything but the large dung, and the smaller, with the hoofs, marrow of the horns, and hide, were all eaten. Let not this amaze you, for such food was welcome to those who ate all the whites and negroes that died.

Then we went in search of the kraals, taking as guides the Kaffirs who had come with the two Portuguese that had brought the cow. We could not reach them that day, though we travelled far, and therefore we slept that night in a valley in which the dry grass was higher than a lance. The next day we rose early in the morning, and journeyed up a hill through a pleasant country. Meeting several negroes, we inquired of them concerning the kraals, and they replied that if we walked fast we would reach them when the sun was in the meridian. Being eager and in want, though weak, we kept on climbing, and in the afternoon we reached the top of a mountain from which we had the most beautiful view our eyes could desire, for many valleys lay before us intersected by rivers and smaller mountains, in which were an infinite number of kraals with herds of cattle and gardens. At this sight we descended the mountain very joyfully, and the negroes came out bringing vessels full of milk and cows for sale. We would not buy the cows then, but told them we would cross a river which was seen from the summit and pitch our camp upon a small mountain, and there we would remain three or four days; and therefore we bade them consult among themselves, and all those who had any provisions which they wished to sell for that money, which was pieces of copper and tin, should come and speak to us.

Crossing the river, we arrived at sunset at the appointed place, and set up our tents in order. Then the captain sent Antonio

Borges, whose duty it was to buy all the provisions, with four men with guns, to station himself at a distance from the camp, in order to prevent the negroes from mixing with us, and this we always did throughout the whole of this journey. That it may be seen what good order prevailed among us, I will say that we carried all the articles of barter and things to be exchanged for provisions divided amongst us, those who had less weight of arms carrying the most, and thus no one was exempt from this labour. Everything, however small, was entered in a book as received, and was expended by Antonio Borges as factor and purchaser, which was his office; and if any other attempted to buy anything he was severely punished, although the purchase was made with something which had been concealed. This was done to prevent the fluctuations of price which are caused by many buyers. This man gave the captain an account like a secretary of everything he spent, and this was done during the life of the captain, and after I succeeded him, until the end, as will be related hereafter.

That day we bought four head of cattle, with which there was a large bull that the captain asked me to kill with my gun, because a great number of negroes were assembled, and he wished to shew them the strength and power of the arms we carried. The bull was feeding among the cows, and in order to surprise the negroes more I told them to stand aside that the weapon might not harm them. They took little notice of this, and remained where they were. I approached to within thirty paces of the bull, and shouted so that he raised his head, which was bent down in grazing; and I put a bullet into his forehead, so that he immediately fell dead. The Kaffirs, seeing the effect of the gun, took to flight. The captain sent to call them back, and they returned very timidly, their fear being greatly increased when they saw the bull dead and put their fingers into the bullet hole in his head.

All the four head of cattle were killed that day, and equally divided among the people, as was always done, by men appointed for that purpose. The next day we bought ten or twelve more, and four others were killed, the share of each person amounting to three pounds, not including the hide and entrails, for everything was divided. The captain wished the people to enjoy this plenty, to see if they would recover their health and strength, and he had four head of cattle killed every day while we

remained in that place. But the result was that it caused us all to suffer from diarrhoea, because we ate the meat half raw, and so we were but little better off than before. It truly horrified us to see that we died from want of food, and that plenty likewise killed us. The negroes also brought us for sale quantities of milk and certain fruit of the colour and taste of cherries, but longer.

In this place we bought more cattle than at any other during the remainder of the journey, for besides the thirteen which were killed while we remained there, which was five days, we took the same number with us at the end of that time. We travelled along a high and very long mountain range, where the negroes brought us for sale many calabashes of milk, and the aforesaid fruit, and we camped on the top of a mountain which was surrounded by kraals with abundance of cattle and gardens, with a river at the foot. Negroes coming the next day with cattle for sale, we bought ten or eleven head. Here the captain ordered a negress to be hanged for stealing a small piece of meat which did not weigh half a pound: too cruel a punishment.

The next day we climbed to the top of that mountain, which was very high, in quest of a kraal in which dwelt the king of the whole of that district. We reached it in the afternoon, and it was the largest we had yet seen. The king, who was blind, came to visit the captain, and brought him as a present a little millet in a gourd. Though old, he was in good health. It is worthy of note that though they are barbarians without any knowledge of the truth, they are so grave and so respected by their subjects that it is impossible to exaggerate it. They govern and punish them in such a way that they keep them quiet and obedient. They have their laws, and punish adultery strictly in the following manner: if a woman is guilty of adultery towards her husband, and he can prove it by witnesses, she is ordered to be put to death with the adulterer if he is captured, whose wives the aggrieved husband marries.

When any one wishes to marry, the king makes the match, so that no marriage can take place unless he names the bride. It is their custom when their sons are ten years old to turn them into the woods; they clothe themselves from the waist downwards with the leaves of a tree like the palm, and rub themselves with ashes till they look as if they were painted. They

all assemble in a body, but do not come to the kraal, their mothers taking them food. Their duty is to dance at weddings and feasts which it is the custom to hold, and they are paid with cattle, calves, and goats, where there are any. When one in this way has got together three or four head of cattle and has reached the age of eighteen and upwards, his father or mother goes to the king and tells him that they have a son of a fitting age who by his own exertions has gained so many head of cattle, and the said father or mother is willing to help him by giving him something further, and they request the king to give him a wife. He says to them: "Go to such a place and tell so and so to bring his daughter here," and when they come he arranges the payment which the husband is obliged to make to his father-in-law, and in making these contracts something always falls to the share of the king. This is the custom as far as Unyaca Manganheira, which is the river of Lourenço Marques.

After the captain had been visited by this king, as he was greater than any we had yet seen, he resolved to give him an important present, which was a small tin candle-stick with a nail tied to the bottom so that it made a noise like a bell. It was well cleaned and tied to a twisted cord, and the captain hung it round his neck. The king showed great delight, and his people were astonished at such an excellent thing. The next day we continued our journey till we arrived near a river which was the largest we had yet seen, above which we slept; and the following day we travelled along very high mountains which were near the said river, with the intention of seeing if we could find a ford or some part where it was narrow and flowed with less fury, that we might cross it on a raft.

We had with us twenty head of cattle, and though we killed one every day, and the share of each person was a pound, we suffered great hunger. The river being very broad, we journeyed two days along high mountains overhanging it by very rough and dangerous roads, until we reached a meadow above which were several kraals, where we resolved to buy some cattle. The negroes lay in ambush on the bank of the river where we were obliged to go for water, and they stole from us two cauldrons which served to hold it, but they paid for their insolence, for when we had bought two cows from them, seeing that they brought no more for sale, and a negro bringing some stalks of

millet for barter, which we often bought to eat because they were sweet, the captain ordered me to fire my gun at him, which I did, wounding him in the breast, and he fled up the mountain. Here the captain ordered one of our Kaffirs who had deserted from us twice to be hanged.

When we had marched over the mountains along the river for more than two days we reached a place where it appeared to be narrower. Here the captain ordered a mulatto of his who was a good swimmer to try if he could cross the stream, but he was drowned as soon as he jumped in, for the current was very strong and like a whirlpool. Seeing the strength of the current we resolved to go farther up; and the next morning we journeyed along well wooded mountains, which were thickly populated, and at noon we pitched our camp. After this, continuing our journey with the design aforesaid, we passed through a kraal which stood upon a height, and as we were going on the inhabitants brought us a large quantity of the before mentioned fruit, which they bartered to us for the tags of laces.

Two ship's boys who were very weak were walking in the rear with their guns upon their shoulders. Seeing them in this state, and that they were separated from us, a few negroes came out of the kraal and took their guns from them. Thomé Coelho, I, and other soldiers who were in the rear flew to the rescue, and entered the kraal, killing every person we met. We captured fourteen calves which we found penned up there, and brought them back with us. We pitched the camp below this kraal, on the other side of a rivulet near other kraals, with great order and vigilance. Early the next day they sent two old negroes to make peace and friendship, but the captain showed himself much offended, saying that he was going on his way without harming any one when they robbed him, and he threatened to be revenged for the injury they had done him. They gave their reasons, saying that we had killed many of their people; and in the end they brought back the guns and paid us an indemnity of two small cows, and for the assagais which we had taken from them they gave us two others, and we returned nine of the fourteen calves we had seized, five having been killed that night, one falling to the share of me and my comrades, which we divided with our friends.

In the afternoon they brought us two cows and a bull, which

we bought from them. The bull was very wild, and the captain ordered him to be killed with swords, but he defended himself so that they could not kill him, and he tossed the captain and three or four others severely. Then he bade me shoot the bull with my gun, but before I could do so he gave me a severe wound and sent my gun flying. I rose up and shot him through the shoulder blade, and he fell dead down a bank upon which I stood, as was my habit upon such occasions, which was a contrivance of mine, for they gave me the foreleg of every bull that I shot, and under the circumstances this was no small blessing.

Thence we went to the bank of the river and camped near it on a mountain, a strong place, which we selected to wait there till the violence of the current abated, which was not for twenty-five days, more or less, that we spent in this neighbourhood, always patrolling the banks of the river. During that time the following incidents occurred. On Christmas day in the morning the captain sent Thomé Coelho d'Almeida with twenty men to climb a high mountain which was parallel to the river, and to go five or six leagues along it in sight of the stream to see if they could discover a place to cross. When they had been away two days they returned, saying that there was no better place than that where we were, and recommending that we should wait till the rains were over and then the river would flow less furiously and have less water; and so we did. Here the captain ordered two little negroes, one belonging to Thomé Coelho and the other to Dona Ursula, to be hanged, simply for stealing two small pieces of meat. The eldest was not twelve years of age, and every one grieved for them and wondered at such cruelty.

We called this river the Famine, because we suffered there worse hunger than during all the rest of the journey. In order to see if there were any means of crossing it the captain promised a hundred cruzados to any person who would swim to the other side, carrying a fishing line by which to get one stronger over that could sustain a raft on which we could cross it as we did the river before mentioned. As no one would attempt it, a negro of mine named Augustine volunteered to do it without any reward, and he accomplished it easily, being a strong swimmer. But when he reached the other side the line was broken by the violence of the current, so that it was clearly shown that we could not cross it as we wished for a few days, during which we

subsisted by placing ourselves in sight of certain kraals to induce them to sell us cattle. This they did more from fear than goodwill, for we went into the kraals to buy, and, being desperate, when they would not sell us any we took them by force.

Here I went to a kraal with Antonio Godinho, and after we had bought two or three cows, seeing that there was nothing more to be done I left to return to the camp, which was in sight. When I had walked a little away I looked back, and seeing that my comrades had not come up I sat down to wait for them where they could see me. Behind me was some high grass, in which a Kaffir crouching down drew near and seized me from behind, holding me with one hand on the butt and the other on the muzzle of my gun, so that I was caught between him and the gun, and we struggled for a long time. I remembered that I carried a knife, and I drew it, invoking our Lady of the Conception, for I was almost breathless, the Kaffir being very strong. I struck at him with the knife until he loosed his hold of the gun, which I thrust into his face and was about to fire when I became faint and could not do so until he was a long way off. Even thus I wounded him, and afterwards I picked up his cloak of skins which he had wound round his arm, and left behind in his haste.

All these Kaffirs wear cloaks of very well-dressed skins, which hang below their hips. The skins are those of small animals with very beautiful fur, and these furs are better or worse according to the rank of the wearer, and they are very punctilious about this. They wear nothing but these capes and a more ludicrous covering of skin over the privy part. I saw a grave Kaffir with a cloak of sable skins, and when I asked him where these animals were to be found he said that there were so many of them in the interior that their skins were generally worn.

I also found upon the ground two assagais and a little piece of wood of the thickness of a finger and about two spans and a half in length, covered from the middle upward with a monkey's tail. It is customary to carry a stick of this kind throughout almost the whole of Kaffraria as far as the river of Lourenço Marques, and they never converse without it, for they emphasise their speech by holding it in their hands, and they call it their mouth, gesticulating and making grimaces. My comrades who were approaching saw what had happened to me and pressed forward,

thinking that I was hurt, and we returned together to the camp, where we were eagerly awaited because of the cows which we were bringing.

Two days afterwards, while we were still in the same place, there arrived one of our negroes who had remained behind with Lopo de Sousa. The captain went to him before any one had spoken a word to him, and seized him, saying: "Dog! who killed the Portuguese? confess it, or I will order you to be hanged at once." The negro was surprised, and said that he was not guilty of such a deed, nor were any of our negroes who had remained behind with him. We were astonished that the captain should ask such a question without having heard any tidings of those people, and we asked him who had brought him such intelligence. He replied that for two days those people had been constantly in his mind, and he felt in his heart that the negroes who had remained with them had put them to death; and this was the cause of his question.

This negro further stated that the Kaffirs of that country killed in one night Gaspar Fixa, Pedro de Duenhas, and the nephew of the boatswain Manuel Alvares, in order to steal a cauldron from them; and that our negroes, his companions, were in another kraal lower down and separate from the Portuguese. Being asked about Lopo de Sousa, he replied that when he left that place three days before he was speechless, and had doubtless died since he saw him, that Beatriz Alvares, wife of Luis da Fonseca, was very ill and had become a leper so that she could not move, and that the others were almost dead with hunger and had no strength to walk, therefore they did not accompany him and were doubtless all dead. The captain ordered him to be searched, and finding on him some gold pieces and diamonds which he knew had belonged to the Portuguese who remained there, he ordered him to be watched, intending to have him put to death at night. But he did not wait till dark, for a little while afterwards we saw two young men of his company approaching, and when he recognised them, fearing the truth would come to light, he fled.

When the two young men arrived they were seized and put to the torture, and confessed as follows. Three days after we separated from Lopo de Sousa, a Kaffir king came to the said kraal with forty cows, saying that it was he who had promised to bring

them to the captain, and he asked for him. They told him that the captain had gone, that he had waited, and seeing he did not come at the time he promised, had set out. The Kaffir replied that the swollen state of the rivers had prevented his coming sooner, and asked if it was possible for him to overtake us. They said it was not, for we had been gone many days, but that two companies of our people had been left behind, one of Portuguese and one of negroes, and that they had money with which to purchase cows. The Kaffir replied that he rejoiced to hear it, as he had brought the cows so far for that purpose. The Portuguese immediately bought three, and the negroes four, and they asked the king not to go away with those that were left, for when they had eaten what they had they would buy more. He replied that there was no good pasture there, and he would make a tour and return in six or seven days to sell them as many as they required. During that time the company of Portuguese were eating those they had bought, and were left with none. Then Gaspar Fixa went down to the kraal where our negroes were, who had still two cows left alive, and asked them to kill one and lend them half, and when the Kaffirs returned they would buy sufficient to pay the debt. They made no difficulty in doing so, killing one of the cows and giving him what he asked for. Two days afterwards the Kaffirs returned, and all provided themselves with cows. Then the negroes claimed payment for what they had lent, and went to ask for it on a day when the Portuguese had killed a very small cow. Gaspar Fixa replied that they saw the slaughtered cow, and their share would be very small in comparison with what they had lent, and therefore he would not give it to them that day, but asked them to wait two days, the time it would take to eat that cow, and then he would give them half of the largest he had. The negroes bade him kill it at once, and Gaspar Fixa replied that then some of the meat would be wasted; and seeing that they would not be persuaded by his arguments, and angered by their insolent boldness, he struck Chingalá, a negro who was the leader of the others, calling him dog and other abusive names; and then they withdrew. Gaspar Fixa and his companions took no notice of this incident, and when they were asleep in their kraal at night our negroes came with some assagais which they had taken from the Kaffirs whom we had shot on our way. They sent one on before to ask for a

light, that the Portuguese might open the door for him, which they did, never thinking of what might befall them. The negroes entering in a body killed all whom they found in the straw hut except Lopo de Sousa, who was in the condition aforesaid; and the names of the dead have been mentioned. They said also that the account given by the other of the state of Beatriz Alvares was correct. These two negroes affirmed that they took no part in this matter and that the ringleader in the crime was already dead, having been killed by the negro who arrived first and had now fled.

We were deeply grieved at this information, for it only remained for our negroes to rise up against us, and we gave thanks to God, beseeching his mercy. The captain ordered them to be hanged that day, but they did not remain on the gallows until morning, because of the famine we suffered, but were secretly eaten by the negroes of our camp and others, which was overlooked and allowed to pass. Often in the camp at night I saw quantities of meat which had an excellent smell like pork, so that one day when my comrade Gregorio de Vidanha relieved me on guard he told me to go and find out what our young men were roasting that smelt so savoury. I went and questioned one of them, and he asked me if I would like some, for it was very good and strengthening. But I, knowing that it was human flesh, went away, saying nothing to them. Thus it may be seen to what straits it pleased God to bring us, all for my sins.

Two days after this, while we were still in the same place, the captain ordered a Portuguese youth who was servant to the boatswain to be hanged because he was detected bartering food with a piece of iron hoop which he had taken from the wallet of the under-pilot, and also because he had fled to the Kaffirs. He was a strong young man, who might have been of use to the company, and truly this excessive cruelty completed our misery, for though it is necessary in governing seamen, it should not be carried to such excess. This poor wretch begged for burial, that he might not be eaten; but his petition availed him little, for the captain gave the young men, who were weak with hunger, an opportunity by ordering him to be thrown into a thicket, and they were very careful to give him the usual burial of those who died.

The next day the captain ordered three persons to cross the

formidable river, the passage of which had cost us so dear, and to explore the opposite bank and see what kind of country it was, whether there were any cattle, and if the negroes knew anything of us. They did this carefully, and returned two days afterwards very joyful, and asked the captain for a reward as the bearers of good tidings. He enquired of João Ribeiro, their leader, if he would like a piece worth three hundred cruzados, who replied that he would rather have the hearts of all the cows killed in the camp after that time for himself and his comrade the caulker, which the captain granted him. From this may be perceived how things, however precious, are despised when compared with food. When he had received this promise he said that four leagues on the other side of the river there were many villages at which there were plenty of cows, that the natives appeared to be well disposed and wished us to go thither that they might sell us some of their cattle, and that they received him well. This was welcome information to us, for we had no previous knowledge of what was to be found there, and we were keeping some cows to take with us to the other side for food, in case there were none farther on, and this fear was the cause of our making a provision which was a great hardship to us, because we ate much less on that account.

Upon receiving this information we moved towards the river, passing through the kraal in which we had killed many people. We found all the negroes of that district up in arms, and they persecuted our rear, molesting us with stones and assagais; but it pleased God that none of the many they hurled should do us any harm. Here we found the raft which we had made some time before, when we thought that the current might afford us an opportunity of crossing; and with this contrivance we easily accomplished the passage. Before doing so we ate to repletion, killing the cows which, as I have said, we had been saving for use on the other side, as we were now assured that we should find some there. Having crossed the river, which took us two days, we went up a very rugged mountain that we judged to be more than three leagues high, for we began our ascent at eleven o'clock and did not reach the summit until night had closed in. Thence we descended into a kind of valley, where we found water, but it was impossible to cook any food, because it was very late.

The next day at dawn we set out in quest of the kraals, which we reached at noon. The Kaffirs living there brought us three very large old bulls, for they usually sold us such as were useless for breeding, and cows of the same sort ; nevertheless we thought they did us a great favour. As we had not yet shown these negroes what we could do with our arms, the captain ordered me to fire at one of the bulls which we had bought from them. I did so, and they, seeing it dead, displayed the usual amazement. We remained there that afternoon, eating it and waiting for them to bring us others for sale ; and seeing they did not do so we set out again in the morning, and they followed us as we descended the mountain, where, as it was very steep, they might have done us great damage, from which God delivered us.

Proceeding on our way we passed through kraals until noon, and dined above a river, for in this place they brought us two oxen for sale, and one of them being very wild was shot and furnished our dinner. We slept that night above three kraals which were on the side of a hill, and speaking to the people thereof they told us that during four days' journey we would find no kraals, and if we wanted cows we should remain there two days. To this we replied that we could not wait, and if they wished to sell us any they must come in the morning, for we would set out as soon as it was day, which we did. When we had journeyed some part of the morning we met a few Kaffirs well armed with assagais, who thought to attack us in some way. They sold us a cow which was very wild, and having received the price of it they fled, and the cow with them. But we seized one of the Kaffirs and bound him, and took him on with us a short distance to see if they would bring us the cow they had taken from us. This they did immediately, a very tall Kaffir coming with it and apologising for the theft which his people had tried to practise on us.

Continuing our journey over lower mountains three or four leagues distant from the shore, we reached a very beautiful river, where they brought us quantities of fruit for sale, like apricots in size and appearance, but without stones. We had eaten of these before, but they were more plentiful here. Afterwards recognising the great harm this fruit constantly caused us, the captain did his best to avoid it, issuing proclamations with severe penalties ; but he could never prevent it, because of the

great hunger we endured. Here we found a Javanese from the shipwrecked party of Nuno Velho Pereira, who was already very old and spoke incorrectly, and with many tears he kissed the crucifix which we wore and made the sign of the cross. I confess that it was a great joy to me to see in these remote regions and among a people so barbarous a man who knew God and the instruments and figures of the passion of Christ. This man related to us that Nuno Velho was wrecked upon the shore about a day's journey farther down, and as his eyes were much injured and he was wounded in the legs he remained behind in this place. He warned us of many things to be observed in dealing with the Kaffirs, telling us that after four days' journey we would find a Malabar black who had also escaped from the same shipwreck, and after nine or ten days we would find a Kaffir named Jorge, of the same party, and in the kraal in which this Kaffir lived there was a Portuguese, a native of São Gonçalo de Amarante, whose name was Diogo, and who was married and had children.

As my comrade Gregorio de Vidanha was quite worn out he resolved to remain with this Javanese, that he might not afterwards be left in some forest or desert, as had many times happened before; and this was a great grief and loss to us, he being such a man as I have previously stated. The king of this district came to see the captain with great ostentation, bringing a fine sheep with a very large tail to sell to him, and he asked more for it than the price of a large cow. Seeing what little profit a sheep would be to us compared with the cow which we might buy with the price demanded for it, we told him to order cows to be brought to us, for we did not want sheep. Upon this they brought three, and determining to practise some cheat or theft upon us, they sold us a cow, and when they had the price in their hand they fled with the animal. But we captured one of them, and would have put him to death had not the Javanese bade us desist and he would bring back the cow, saying that these negroes had acted thus because they did not know us, and he advised us not to be disturbed and he would return with it, which he promptly did. Seeing what badly disposed people these were, we departed from the place at once, leaving Gregorio de Vidanha in the house of the said Javanese with a sailor named Francisco Rodrigues Machado in his company. We gave

them articles which were of value there, and they concealed them in order to buy a milch-cow or something else on which they might subsist until the season of the millet harvest, which was now green.

Passing through this kraal we went upon our way, and Cypriano Dias also remained there, and they robbed him in our sight. After this all the Kaffirs of that kraal assembled and came and molested our rear with stones and assagais. Seeing the harm which they might do us as there were many of them, I remained behind with eight companions, and when they approached I fired my gun at them and one fell, whereupon they all stopped and, turning back, followed us no more. The noise of the gun so terrified these people that many times when they followed us thus two men would stand out and face them with slings which they made for the purpose, and at the crack of the slings they would throw themselves upon the ground.

Thence we journeyed through a country in which there was great lack of provisions, till, after four days, on descending a mountain we came to a kraal at which the vanguard arriving first shouted and passed the word that here was a Canarim of Brades, upon which we hurried forward, and when we all arrived we saw that it was the black of Malabar, of whom the Javanese had told us. He hastened to us with many signs of joy, saying: "Welcome, my Christians," and he bade us remain there and he would negotiate for all that we required. He said these Kaffirs had known of our coming two days before, and they had been told that we ate men and therefore they were in arms. But the next day, finding that this report was false, the king came to see us, very mournful, his father having recently died. They sold us four cows at the request of the Malabar, who took us to see his daughters, the most beautiful negresses in those parts. We asked him how many wives he had, and he answered two, by whom he had twenty children, twelve sons and eight daughters. We asked him why he did not come with us as he was a Christian, but he said it would be impossible for him to bring his twenty children, that he was married to one of the king's sisters and had cattle from which he lived, that even if he wished to go his wives' relations would not permit it, neither would it be good for us to have them in our company, because of the evil it might bring upon us, and that he was a Christian and God would be

mindful of his soul. He asked us for some rosary beads, which we gave him, and kissing the cross, with tears, he hung them round his neck.

Three of our young women who were married to three of our Kaffirs remained here, two of them were Kaffirs and the other a Javanese. The next day we continued on our way, the Malabar accompanying us a good distance; then with many embraces and signs of sorrow he told us that we had a long journey before us with very high mountains on the road, and so he left us. The Kaffirs of that kraal, which was large, did us no harm whatever, and therefore we called it the Land of Friends.

We journeyed on for three days, during which we saw few natives and no kraals; and at the end of this time one afternoon we observed a few sheep grazing in the distance. As it was now late, we went no farther, but sent some men to see what was ahead, that in the morning we might have recourse to our usual barter. On their return, those who had been exploring said that as it was late they had seen nothing but many fires, and had heard the lowing of cattle in different directions. In the morning we climbed a high mountain and saw many kraals in very rugged places out of the course we were following. But presently a Kaffir came to us and said that there were kraals in all directions except that whence we had come, and he pointed out some which were upon the road we must follow. And as he went with us we saw upon the side of a hill two large kraals with many cows and a few sheep, and it seemed to us that these people were more polished and were living in greater abundance. Here they sold us a cow, but would afterwards have repented of it, and we, knowing this, shot it with a gun, at which they were grieved; and an elder brother of him who sold it to us gave the latter a sound beating because he had not taken counsel with them. These two kraals had gardens of millet and gourds, of which they sold some to us, and we found the taste very good.

After dining here we went and slept above a kraal where they sold us three cows, and this was the first place where we saw a hen, which they refused to sell us. Travelling for two days in valleys where there were many gardens of millet, which was not yet fit to be eaten, they came and sold us several hens. When we reached a kraal where they told us their inkosi, as they call the king in those parts, was, we traded for some hens, and obtained

sufficient to allow one between every two persons. We remained here that day, waiting for them to bring us cows, for we were in great want of them, and at last they sold us a little stale millet, some milk, and two cows. The next day we went down to a river, to which we gave the name River of Ants, for these insects were so large and numerous that we were helpless against them. We remained there two days, and on the third we crossed the stream on a raft that we made.

On the 1st of February 1623 we began our journey from the other side of this river, up a very high mountain. Heavy rain was falling, which lasted many days, and we made our camp while it was yet light upon a slope adjoining two kraals, in which there was nothing but some gourds and a few hens, part of which we bought. Here they informed us that only a little farther on we would find great abundance, at which we rejoiced exceedingly, for we had nothing whatever to eat, and if we had lacked food two days longer we would all have perished of hunger, if God had not succoured us.

Here remained behind a sailor named Motta, an Italian named Joseph Pedemassole, a passenger who was a cripple, and the son of Dona Ursula, the last a very grievous case. He was called Christovão de Mello, and was about eleven years old, of good education and understanding; and he was so wasted that he looked the picture of death, whereas before these hardships he was like an angel. When it was seen that the child could not accompany us, his mother was sent on in front, and he remained behind as usual, as he could not walk so fast; and when he saw that he could march no farther with us he said that he wished to go to confession, which he did. Then he begged the captain by the wounds of Christ to send for his mother that he might bid her farewell, to which the captain replied that he could not do so, as she was already far away, and the child lamented, saying: "It is enough, Sir, does your Worship deny me even this consolation?" The captain spoke loving words to him, and led him by the hand until he could go no farther, but remained as in a trance, and we all went weeping on our way; and if his mother had seen him then her heart would surely have broken with excessive grief, therefore the captain prevented him from seeing her.

On the second day of February, Candlemas day, we journeyed

in the morning, and dined near a beautiful wood, through which there flowed a stream of water. Here they brought us seven goats for sale, with which we went on to see if we could reach some kraals where they told us there was an abundance of provisions. But as the rain was very heavy we could not get so far, and we slept at a place where a few Kaffirs were waiting for us with baskets full of millet, which was bought and divided among us all, a cup of millet falling to the share of each person. Of six goats which were killed, each one received his little piece, and he who had the skin had the best share.

The next day we reached the kraals of the desired abundance, where they brought us for sale many goats, cows, cakes as big as Flemish cheeses, and so much millet that afterwards we could not carry it all. The captain ordered eighteen goats and a cow to be killed, and the share was six pounds to each. They also brought so many hens that each person had one, and the food was so plentiful that we must all have died if we had not been attacked by diarrhoea.

On the following day the chief of those parts came to visit us, bringing a large bull as a present. The captain ordered me to shoot it with my gun, that his followers might hear it, for he had many men with him, and also that they might see what arms we possessed. When they saw the bull fall dead, though I fired from a great distance, the king took to flight, so that it was necessary to send and tell him that this was done as a sign of rejoicing because of his coming to see us, and that he must return or the captain would have to go and bring him. Hearing these arguments he came back, but in such a state that from black he had turned white. The captain hung round his neck the gilt lock of a writing desk, and gave him the handle of a cauldron, and he valued these things very highly and withdrew with friendly words and a show of gratitude.

Then we divided the millet and cakes which we had bought, and which formed two large heaps; and after we had taken as much as each of us could carry, we set out, still leaving some, for we were unable to take away more. We journeyed over mountains, upon the sides of which there were so many and such beautiful kraals that it was admirable to see the great quantity of cattle which came out of them. They brought us on our way

quantities of milk for sale, but it was all sour, for the Kaffirs do not drink it otherwise.

At noon we pitched the camp by a fresh river in a valley, and thither came many Kaffirs, all bringing something for sale. We traded in our usual manner on the other side of the river apart from the tents, with men keeping guard, and here we did it with greater caution because there came more Kaffirs than we had ever seen before. Their numbers were so great that many climbed the trees simply to get a sight of us, especially three trees at the feet of which the bartering was carried on, because they sheltered us from the sun, so that I do not know how they did not break beneath the weight; and certainly a good picture might have been painted of this place and concourse of people. We remained there until the afternoon, and afterwards we bought fifteen cows and many cakes, so that we were all heavily laden.

A young woman, servant to Beatriz Alvares, remained here with four other persons who were ill of a surfeit from over-eating, three of whom overtook us afterwards. We proceeded on our way, and slept in a burnt clearing, at the foot of which flowed a stream of good water that sufficed to assuage our thirst. The next day in the afternoon we camped in sight of two kraals which were upon a slope, and the negroes brought all the cows they had to show us, though they would not sell us any, but this disturbed us very little, as we had about twenty with us. Journeying on next morning we spent the heat of the day near a river which was in a little plain covered with trees, under which we rested.

Here came to us the Kaffir of whom the Javanese had told us, and speaking in Portuguese he said: "I kiss your Worship's hands, I am also a Portuguese," and he told us that in a kraal farther on, through which we must pass, there was a Portuguese named Diogo, a native of São Gonçalo de Amarante. The captain asked if he would like to go with us, but he replied that the Kaffirs would not permit it, because he gave them rain when it was required, and he was already old and had children. As we laughed on hearing this, he said that he would show us his house. Here we bought a store of hens, cakes, milk, butter, and some sugar canes. This Kaffir asked us for a towel, which we immediately gave him, whereat he was well pleased and called

in a loud voice to many Kaffirs and their wives in their language : “Kaffirs, inhabitants of these lands, come and sell to the Portuguese who have come hither, and who are the lords of the world and of the sea, what things you have to eat (enumerating them by name), and avail yourselves of the treasures they have brought with them; see how they eat off things which you wear as jewels in your ears and on your arms.” And he called them beasts, because they did not immediately bring what they had.

When we had finished our trading and had dined, while we were forming in order of march a Kaffir stole a small copper pot from us; but we immediately seized one of them whom Thomé Coelho cut over the head, and we captured him, and as we went on they returned us what they had stolen. Then we set our prisoner free, and went upon our way, climbing a mountain from the top of which we discovered many kraals. Among them was a very large one which the aforesaid Kaffir pointed out, saying “There is the city of the Portuguese.” We approached nearer to the said kraal, and saw a thatched house with four corners, a thing we had not seen before during our journey, for all the others were smaller and round. We urged the Kaffir to go and call the occupant, but he told us not to tire ourselves in vain, for he would not come.

Thence we went on through heavy rain and slept upon a height, and that night the Kaffir who had hitherto accompanied us departed. As he knew our arrangements he returned that same night through a wood which was at the back of the camp, and raising the side of a tent where he had seen an arquebus put away, carried it off; and he did this so cunningly that no one noticed it, though all were awake on account of the rain which had not ceased for two days and wet everything we had; and in the morning when the arquebus was missed we guessed at once who had taken it. We wished to go on, but the continuous rain prevented it, and we remained there one day more. They brought us several cakes and goats for sale, and a fine bull. Seeing that the rain did not cease, but seemed rather to increase in fury, we journeyed the next day until the afternoon, when we came to a large river, near which we camped on high ground, so that we had wood and water at hand. In order to dry ourselves we made large fires, which we kept up all night.

Having set the customary watches, after the first watch was relieved, it being the 12th of February, the Kaffirs surprised us, attacking us on three sides. All sprang to the defence, taking the guns, which were very wet, because it had rained unceasingly for three days. Seeing that nothing could be done with them, I called out to put them by the fire as they were, in order to discharge the powder which was in them, and every one did so. While this was taking place they almost drove us from our camp, with such extraordinary war cries and whistling as if hell were loose. They killed Manuel Alvares and a bombardier whose name was . . . Carvalho, both of whom died on the spot, and they seriously wounded sixty others, of whom Antonio Borges died next day. When the guns were hot we began to kill the Kaffirs, and the first to do so was a sailor named Manuel Gonçalves, who is known to have fired the first shot. When the Kaffirs saw the harm we were doing to them they took to flight, leaving a large track of blood behind them. The Virgin Mary of the Conception was pleased that it should cease raining during the fight, which lasted a long time, and the moonlight was so clear that it was in great part due to it that we escaped destruction.

We kept watch all the rest of that night, moving the camp higher up to a stronger place, and we had suffered so severely that little would have sufficed to put an end to us. These Kaffirs have a better mode of fighting than those previously met, for they used shields like targets of wild buffalo hide, which are very strong, and covering themselves therewith they hurled countless assagais, with which the camp was covered, the number being so great that five hundred and thirty were found of iron alone, not including many from which the iron had been taken and concealed in order to trade with. Those of fire-hardened wood were so numerous that they could not be counted, and did as much damage as the others. In the morning we entrenched ourselves, and set about caring for the wounded, who were so many that not one of us escaped without damage from an assagai or a stone. We made the best recoveries I ever saw, for several were pierced through the breast from side to side, and through the thighs, and some had broken heads, but none of them died, though we had no dressing but cow's marrow. Captain Pedro de Moraes had his elbow pierced through.

We remained here two days, during which time the carpenter Vicente Esteves made a raft like a boat, which was rowed with four oars. During this time the very Kaffirs who robbed us came to sell us hens, cakes, and pombe, which is a kind of wine that they make from millet. We dissimulated, pretending not to know them, and we bought what we required. They also came from the other side of the river, bringing us the same things, and crossing on pieces of wood, with a kind of pitchfork high above the water, on which they hung their merchandise. They asked us why we had killed so many people? and when we related what had happened they urged us to go over the river because of the wicked men on this side, and offered to show us where it might be crossed in three days, for now the water was high and would then be lower. But before this two persons had crossed upon the raft, and afterwards Rodrigo Affonso, Antonio Godinho, Father Bento of the order of St. Francis, and others embarked upon it, and it capsized before they reached the shore, and they were almost drowned. The father dropped his habit which he had taken off, and in it were lost a quantity of precious stones that had been given into his keeping, the proceeds of the sale of rice, for which people pledged diamonds and other stones, and which had been entrusted to him by many persons, some of whom had been left behind on the way, and others had died. On the day mentioned by the Kaffirs we crossed the river higher up, and we called it the river of Blood. Four of our comrades remained here, and we saw elephants for the first time on each bank. The day after we crossed the river Father Manuel de Sousa died.

Thence we went forward for two days within two leagues of the shore, and at the end of that time we came to a river which seemed to be a swamp with a mouth open to the sea, and here we saw an elephant with a young one, and they disappeared in our rear. Later on we met many elephants, but they took no notice of us, and never attempted to harm us during the whole of our journey. Having crossed this river at the mouth, with the water to our necks, we went on along the shore until we reached another with many large rocks at the mouth, and we could not cross it because the water was so deep. Climbing up a steep hill, we saw some Kaffirs who said they would show us the ford, and for a few little pieces of copper they carried over the

children and many persons who were sick. The people thenceforward were much better, and we called them the Naunetas, because when they met us they said *Naunetas*, which in their language signifies you are welcome, and to this greeting the reply is *Alaba*, which signifies and you also. Here they sold us a great quantity of fish, and helped us to carry the loads which our negroes bore, singing and clapping their hands.

Thence we went and slept on the margin of the beach, and the king of the country, whom they called Manamuze, came to see us. He was a youth, and came with a great show of authority, with three necklaces of tin round his neck, which is valued in these parts above everything else. Seeing this, the captain wore a little silver bell, the value of which to the king could not be compared with the other metal, and putting on his scarlet coat, he approached the spot where the king was waiting. They greeted each other, the Kaffir abandoning nothing of his high bearing, and the captain, seeing this, began to move his body so that the bell rang, at which they were all astonished, and the king could not help losing countenance. Taking it in his hand he looked inside, which made it ring again, and he moved it about, laughing loudly when it rang, and he never took his eyes off it while he remained there. It is a notable thing that these barbarians are respected in their way, and as their race and family are united, their children never lose the territory and kraals left them by their fathers, everything descending to the eldest, whom the others call father and respect him accordingly. Thieves are cruelly punished, though all are thieves, and a very fine mode of justice is in use among them, which is that when a Kaffir steals a kid or any smaller thing from another, such sentence is passed upon him by the owner and his relations as they choose, and it is generally that he be buried alive. Here they sold us a very large and fat ox, and these they call *zembe*.

We journeyed three days more into the interior until we came to a great river of which the Kaffirs showed us the ford, with marks of friendship. A sailor, whose name was Bernardo Jorge, remained there. Thence we travelled two days along the shore, until we reached another river, which was narrow at the mouth but very wide farther up. As we were in want of millet, we waited a day, and there came so many Kaffirs bringing hens for sale that the hills were covered with them. I saw the maimed

brought here to see us, borne upon the backs of others. Having crossed this stream, which we called the Crocodile river because we saw one there, we made our way into the interior a league from the shore, and journeying five days among well disposed natives, we came to the mouth of a river which seemed as if it could not be forded, and remaining there a day, they brought us some hens for sale. There are numberless elephants in these parts, and all night we heard them trumpeting, but they never dared come near us because of the many fires which we always made. The Kaffirs told us to go farther inland, for there the river could be crossed; and when we did so they showed us the ford and helped us in our passage. Dona Ursula was nearly drowned in this river, for the water reached to our beards, and as she was small it covered her. As she could swim she thought she would be able to stem the current, but she was carried down the river, which being perceived she was rescued with difficulty. We called this the river of Islands, because there were several in it.

Thence we journeyed over some hills in quest of millet, of which we were in need, for we did not buy any at this river in order not to burden ourselves, and at night we reached some poor kraals in which there was nothing but gourds. After journeying four or five days longer we came to another river, which was a good league in width, with many thick reeds along the banks, and we crossed it with the water to our waists. Here and farther back many persons remained behind through diarrhoea and other infirmities, and there were so many that I cannot remember them. These evils were caused by the millet, which we ate whole and raw, for we were not accustomed to this food, and our stomachs were impaired and weakened by eating many poisonous things. This river forms an island in the middle, and in it we saw many hippopotami. We were almost the whole day crossing it, and slept that night upon the opposite bank.

On the following day we journeyed over deserted plains, and a Kaffir came to meet us with an ornament of tin hung round his neck which covered all his breast, and he bade us go with him and he would lead us to a place where there was abundance of provisions. He led us along a river with the water to our knees, and it was covered by trees so high and thick that during the two hours we were in it we did not see the sun. Having crossed

it, we travelled all that day without stopping, because we had no millet. We reached the kraals in the evening, and seeking to provide ourselves we found only one kind of food, which is the same as that which is given to canaries in Lisbon, which is called *alpiste*, and the Kaffirs call it *ameichueira*. These people had sought us on our way simply to see us, and they showed great surprise at sight of us. They asked the reason why we journeyed through strange lands with women and children, and when our Kaffirs explained our case to them, they twisted their fingers as if invoking curses upon those who were the cause of our shipwreck.

Thence we travelled over a level country inhabited by very poor people, who gave us a good welcome; and after two days we reached a kraal near the shore, in which we found some fish, and the people showed themselves more compassionate than any others we had met, for the women and children went down to the shore and threw many stones into the sea, uttering certain words which seemed like curses, then turning their backs upon it they lifted up the skins with which they cover their hinder parts and exhibited them, which is the worst form of imprecation in use among them. They did this because they had been told that the sea was the cause of our suffering so many hardships and of our wandering five months through strange lands, which was what surprised them most, for they never travel ten leagues from the place of their birth, and look upon a long journey as an extraordinary event.

After this we went a league into the interior, traversing low sandy lands poorly supplied with provisions, and after three days we reached the river of the Fishery, where the people made much of us. This river is narrow, with high banks at the mouth, but a league inland it is more than three leagues in width, and at low tide it is dry. The Kaffirs have countless fishing places here, which they call *gamboas*, made of wattles joined together, which the fish enter at high tide, and when it ebbs they are left dry. As the tide was quite out we crossed the river, many Kaffirs going with us, helping us to carry our heaviest baggage, and singing with great joy.

This day we went along the shore and dined beside the sea. We found no fresh water on the shore, at which we were very downcast, but we discovered some in the salt water, for there was

a spring the size of a conch which was in the sea, and bubbled up with such force that it burst a span above the salt water. When the tide went out it was left on dry land, and we all quenched our thirst at it and cooked our food. We journeyed on for two days, keeping along the shore of the golden downs, which now commenced, at the end of which we were in great want, having only three cows, and there was no water to be found in these parts.

Here a Kaffir came to us and said that he would lead us to a place where they would sell us plenty of millet and hens. He guided us through a valley in the land, and leaving us near a strong spring, he gave notice at the kraals, and they brought us plenty of millet and hens. Here the principal Kaffirs came to see us, wearing a different dress, which was large capes of skins covering them to the instep, and they were very dignified and grave. They asked our captain to go through their kraals, for there he could provide himself with more provisions, and we intended to do so that same day, but as it was late we slept in a valley. The next day we went to the kraals, where we were well received, but did not find what the chiefs had promised.

These Kaffirs saw me shoot a bird with my gun, at which they were much astonished, for it seemed witchcraft to them. While they were talking of it among themselves, a man came to the captain who had been crippled in one leg by a crocodile a long time before, and he showed him that the wound was old, and said that if he would undertake to cure it he would pay him well. The captain cleverly replied that the wound had been inflicted so long before that it could not be cured in a short time, and further that he must give him something that he might cure it with a good will, without which nothing could be done. At this the Kaffir said he was content, and sending for a dish full of millet, he presented it; and when the captain had taken it he said he was not yet willing. Then the Kaffir sent for three hens, and gave them to him, asking if he were willing now? The captain said that he was; and the Kaffir replied that he must not attend to him unless with a good will, for he knew that he could not be cured without that. The captain treated him in the following manner: he took a brush which he carried and which had a small mirror at the back, and putting it before his eyes the Kaffir was amazed, and called to the others who were

there; but the captain told him not to move or speak, and when he was still after he had seen the mirror the captain took the brush and stroked his wound with it, and anointing it with a little cow's fat he bound it up with a piece of calico. This being done, he told the Kaffir that after two moons he would be cured, but the wound being so old it could not heal directly. The Kaffir was full of confidence, and told the captain that he was poor, or he would give him more. Then other cripples came to the captain, and were treated in the same way.

We journeyed two days more along the beach, at the end of which we reached the river of Santa Lucia, where pieces of cloth are valued, and we traded with them for millet and hens. We remained there one day, and crossed the river the next, in which nine persons died of cold. This river is two leagues in width. The current is very furious, and the water came above our breasts; and after we had crossed it we were half dead. Here an old sailor named Francisco Dias fell sick; he was maimed in both arms by two assagai wounds which the Kaffirs had given him in our late fight. We made two large fires, at which we warmed ourselves, and the sailor recovered when he was warm. We remained here until the next day, trading for plenty of millet, cakes, and dough made of *ameichueira*, which they eat raw; and we did the same. We bought two cows, one of which I shot with my gun.

Thence we continued our journey along the shore of the golden downs, and this name was bestowed upon it with good reason, for it looks like nothing but a down, being of gold-coloured earth as fine as flour, but hard, and full of rivulets of water which course through these downs, and the water is yellow, of the same colour as the earth. From what I saw farther on in the lands of Cuama, it seems to me that there must be gold here, for the earth resembles that from which quantities of gold dust are extracted, and I am the more convinced of this because the ground is heavy. These downs extend backward from the shore and stretch along it a distance of about forty leagues.

Going forward, we crossed a river where the Kaffirs robbed a sailor named Antonio Martins, who separated himself from the company in order to buy something in secret. Keeping along the shore, we came to another small river, in which the water reached to our knees, and there we dined. The pilot being told

to take the altitude of the sun, found the latitude rather over 26°, which caused great joy among us, for we thought we were farther off, and we knew by this latitude that we were twenty-six leagues or a little more from the river of Lourenço Marques. Here they brought us a dead buffalo for sale, at which our rejoicing increased; and we met a Kaffir clothed with a loin cloth and with a hat upon his head, who assured us that what the pilot said was correct. We saw other Kaffirs wearing cloths, who told us that we could travel to the Inyaka in four days. Here they do not know the river of Lourenço Marques, nor Cape Correntes, but only the Inyaka, who is a king residing on an island at the mouth of the river of Lourenço Marques, as I shall relate hereafter.

At this rivulet a child was left behind, the son of Luis da Fonseca and Beatriz Alvares, who was very thin and had often stayed behind in the kraals through which we passed, and the Kaffirs had brought him to us the next day; and as he had done this before, we thought that he would join us again this time.

We travelled for four days along the shore, at the end of which a Kaffir came to meet us, accompanied by six others; he was very polite and well adorned with a chain twisted many times round his neck, and was girt with a fine cloth; his hands were full of assagais, for the grave among them distinguish themselves by this. I wondered at nothing so much among these people, from those of the remotest parts where we landed, than this which I shall now relate. They had so little knowledge of us that they thought we were creatures born of the sea, and asked us by signs to show our navels, which two of the sailors did; then they requested us to take a deep breath, and when they saw us do this they nodded their heads, as if to say these are men like us. All these Kaffirs as far as Sofala are circumcised, and I do not know who went thither and taught them this rite.

This Kaffir abovementioned was the son of Inyaka Sangane, the legitimate king and lord of the island in the river of Lourenço Marques, whom the Inyaka Manganheira had dispossessed, and he resided upon the mainland with his followers, awaiting the death of this tyrant, who was very old, to return to his possessions, as I shall relate hereafter. He led us about a league into the interior to his kraals, where they sold us some

goats. We asked him to lead us to his father, but he detained us for a day, wishing us to buy something in his territory. Being eager to reach our destination, we would not remain long, and set out again, and seeing that we would by no means be detained, he ordered the way to be shown to us. Upon the said road we saw a large straw house, and before we reached it many figures without faces, fashioned like dogs, crocodiles, and men, all made of straw; and asking what they were I was told that this was the house of a Kaffir who gave rain when the gardens required it. Witchcraft is their only form of government.

We dined in a grove of trees, where they brought us a quantity of honey in the comb for sale; and a Kaffir came to us who could speak Portuguese, and brought us a message from the Inyaka Sangane, the father of the Kaffir we had met before. The sight of this Kaffir was a great joy to us, for he reassured us, and we knew that what they had told us was the truth. He delivered his message, which was that the Inyaka bade us go to his kraal, and nothing should be wanting to us, and he would give us a vessel in which to cross to the other side of the river and would do all we wished. The captain, not trusting to all this, sent a Portuguese to him with a present of articles of copper. He went and spoke to him and many Kaffirs who were there, and returned bringing the captain a bunch of bananas, with which we were delighted, for they are good Indian fruit. This man said that the king seemed a good man and had no forces with which he could harm us, that he was waiting for us, and his followers said that many Portuguese came there every year. In order to hasten our coming, he sent us a sailor of Mozambique, who had remained there from one of the ships which had visited the bay in past years.

Upon this we set out, and having journeyed about a league along the edge of a swamp, we came to the place where the king resided, which was a height between two small hills. As it was now night, he did not speak to us, but sent his men to show us a place adjoining his kraals where we might pitch our tents. The next day the captain went to see him, and hung a gold chain with the habit of the order of Christ round his neck, and gave him two pieces of chintz, a kind of cloth worn by Indian women, which is highly valued. He received this with great dignity, speaking but a few words, and telling the captain not to distress

himself for he would leave his lands well satisfied, as he had no greater desire than to be a friend to the Portuguese. Thereupon the captain withdrew. This negro is a great personage, and was always loyal to the Portuguese. The next day he came to see us, and ordered goats, sheep, many hens, and *ameichueira* to be brought to us. Then as he delayed in ordering the vessel he had spoken of to be shown to us, we went straight to the shore. After travelling along it two days, we came to the river of Lourenço Marques, which we so greatly desired, on the 6th of April 1623. We could not see it until we arrived there, because the aforesaid island is very near the mainland on the side of the Cape of Good Hope, and thus as we approached it all appeared to us part of the mainland.

When we had gone along the shore about a quarter of a league we pitched our tents and fired three or four guns; and as it was then night we lit our fires, and all with Father Diogo dos Anjos, a Capuchin, and Father Bento gave thanks to God that He had brought us to a place where we were known and to which ships came from Mozambique. The next day we saw two canoes with negroes who spoke Portuguese very well, at which we were much pleased, for previously we had seen neither canoe nor other vessel. The captain sent to the king of the island, who was the Inyaka Manganheira aforesaid, asking him to let us know whether he had any vessel in which we might go to Mozambique, or provisions upon which we could subsist for the month which we might have to remain there until we could repair a vessel in which to cross over to the other side, in order to reach it at the proper time to find the vessel from Mozambique. The Inyaka replied that we should go to him and he would provide us with everything, and he sent us three small vessels to enable us to cross to the island, which we immediately did.

When all the company had landed on the island, we marched in our usual order to the kraal where the king was. It was composed of large houses with palisaded courtyards, so that they looked like the dwellings of warlike men. The king was seated upon a mat, covered with a serge cape the colour of cinnamon, which appeared to be of English manufacture, and with a hat upon his head. Seeing the captain, he arose, but without moving forward, and gave him a hearty embrace. The captain took off the cape with which he was clothed, leaving him naked, and

covered him with another of black silk, and put round his neck a silver chain which had belonged to the boatswain Manuel Alvares, with the whistle, a thing which he esteemed highly. This negro appeared to be very old and fat, whereas throughout the whole of Kaffraria I never saw a Kaffir who was crooked or fat, all being upright and lean. He bade us pitch our tents near the kraals, and the next day they brought us for sale quantities of fish, hens, and ameichueira, and a few sheep.

The king came to see the captain and showed him the vessels he had, which were small and all broken; and when our carpenters saw them they said they were not fit for more than to cross to the other side of the bay, which was a distance of seven leagues; neither had they any stocks upon which to build larger vessels, and that we could not wait for a vessel from Mozambique, for it would not come until March of the following year, and therefore we should ask the Inyaka to order the vessels to be quickly repaired, for the Kaffirs are very dilatory. To this the captain replied: "It seems good to me that we should cross to the other side and travel to Inhambane, which is not far distant, and we may be a month at most upon the way; and that we should not remain a year waiting in the lands of this Kaffir, who is a traitor, and killed here two years ago a priest and three Portuguese to rob them, and therefore no pangayo has come for so long, nor will one come soon, and in time he will gradually do the same to all of us." All this had been told him by the Inyaka on the other bank, and so it had occurred.

Having spoken thus, the captain went to the Inyaka, and asked him to order the vessels to be repaired, for he was resolved to set out and not to wait for the ships from Mozambique, which had not come there for two years, because of the treatment formerly received from him, and perhaps the next year they would not come either. The Inyaka replied that it was true he had killed the priest and Portuguese, but it was because they had killed his brother, and if we did not trust him we might go to an island close by, which could be reached on foot at low tide, and there we would find water, and he would order a *gamboa* to be made for every two Portuguese that we would have sufficient provisions, and that Portuguese had often wintered there and none had ever complained of him before. He said further that he would give us ten of his Kaffirs, and we might send two

Portuguese with them to Inhambane to make known that we were here waiting for the ships to come. To this the captain replied that he was anxious to arrive quickly. The Kaffir begged him not to undertake this journey, for the Mokarangas would surely kill him, as they did those of Nuno Velho Pereira's company who could not find room in the vessel; that the country beyond was very unhealthy, that his houses were full of ivory and ambergris which he could not dispose of if the Portuguese did not buy it from him, and therefore it was convenient for him to treat us very well and not offend us, that we might give him the credit of it.

But the captain insisted on going, and told him so, begging him to order the vessels to be repaired, and bidding him farewell. We went to the island aforesaid, which was about a league distant, and there we remained while the vessels were being repaired, which was until the 18th of April. Rodrigo Affonso and I wished to remain there, and we went to the captain and told him that we did not dare march any farther by land, but would leave when a pangayo arrived. The captain rebuked our want of confidence, saying that he was surprised at our wishing to turn back from the journey when we were in the right direction, and as it was said there were robbers farther on we ought not to leave him, but if we did so in spite of everything he must protest against it; and it seemed as if he were prophesying. Upon these arguments we embarked with the rest of the company in four vessels, which could not contain us all at once, and it was necessary to return for those who remained behind. The next day at midnight we reached an island on the other side, which is in the same bay, and we landed and slept there the remainder of the night.

The following day at dawn Rodrigo Affonso de Mello, who was ill, became much worse, but he could still speak plainly, and having confessed himself he died on another island which we reached the next night. I assure you that nothing could have caused us greater grief, and the greatest was mine as his servant, for besides being a noble gentleman he had an angelic disposition, and it was due to him that all our hardships were easily endured, for he was the first to carry wood and water on his back and to enter the sea in search of shellfish, and when the others saw a person of his rank do this they were encouraged to imitate

him and not to lose heart. We buried him in this island the next morning, and put a mark upon his grave.

Thence we followed an arm of this bay to another island belonging to a negro called Melbomba, where we landed and waited for the vessels to return with the rest of the company who had remained at the island of the Inyaka, which was until the 7th of May. During that time we all fell ill, the country being unhealthy, and also because we ate much of our food raw; and there died Father Bento, Manuel da Silva Alfañja, Pascoal Henriques, bombardier, Antonio Luis, sailor, and João, a ship's boy. When the remainder of the company arrived most of them were also sick, and eight persons had died of those we had left, but their names being unknown to me I cannot set them down here. We left in this island, because they were very ill and could not accompany us, Antonio Godinho de Lacerda, Gaspar Dias, steward, Francisco da Costa, sailor, and a servant of the captain.

Crossing to the mainland, we continued along the shore until we came to the territory of a king called Manisa, who is the most powerful in these parts. On the 13th of the said month he came to see us on our way, where we were waiting till some of the people should be convalescent, and as some of them grew worse we left them with this king, who showed good will towards us; and generally when vessels come to these parts they find the best market in his country. He told us to travel inland, for the people were better, and warned us that upon the road we were following we should all be robbed and killed. As the captain never took advice from others, and only followed his own opinions, he acted unwisely in many things, besides which he was so partial to the seamen that he would do nothing they disapproved of, even though it might be a punishment which he inflicted on themselves; and therefore this was not remedied, and also because there were few men of noble birth.

Dona Ursula remained here with her eldest son, whose name was Antonio de Mello, and with her remained Joaquim Henriques, two ship's boys, and a negress belonging to Thomé Coelho. They carried this lady in a litter made of pieces of cloth, with her son in her arms, and it was most pitiful to see a young and beautiful woman, whiter and fairer than a Flemish woman, the wife of a man so honourable as Domingos Cardoso de Mello, the

chief judge of criminal cases in the state of India, and so rich, in the power of Kaffirs, and shedding many tears. As we feared she would not escape we took her younger son with us, which added to her grief. The king took her with him, telling her that she should want for nothing, and the captain promised to give him a bar of merchandise if he used her and also the others well.

As soon as the king was gone we set out, still keeping along the shore. The captain, who was now ill, was carried in a litter until we reached a river called Adoengres, which was on the 16th of the same month. Here the captain, seeing the condition in which he was and that frequently he could not speak properly, ordered the election according to the opinion of all of one with merit and parts sufficient to take his place. Summoning the whole company, he said that he was now incapable of governing them, and therefore they must consider what man among us could best do so, for they knew every one well and how far each was fitted for it, and therefore he placed the election in their hands, that they might not afterwards complain of him; and when they had voted he would do so likewise. They voted for me, giving their reasons, and the captain said that this was also his choice. Then Pedro de Moraes summoned me, and told me that these people had elected me their captain, and that such was also his vote, and he hoped to God that I would govern them with more prudence than he had hitherto shown, for as a spectator I knew in what he had offended them. I replied that I must use my best endeavours to imitate him.

Then I withdrew to my tent, taking most of the people with me. I told them that I took this office upon me solely out of zeal for our preservation; and that no one at any time might have cause to complain of me, I chose six of the principal persons present, without whose advice I would take no important step. This was approved by all, because Captain Pedro de Moraes never took counsel with anyone upon any matter whatever. The persons whom I chose thus were Father Diogo dos Anjos, Thomé Coelho d'Almeida, a nobleman, Antonio Ferrão da Cunha, a nobleman, Vicente Lobo de Sequeira, a nobleman, André Velho Freire, and the pilot.

When this was done, the notary of the camp and these six persons represented to me on behalf of the king that the precious

stones in the wallet were in danger, for the Kaffirs had been molesting us three days, and it was carried by one man, whose sole business it was; and it might happen farther on, where we were told that there were very warlike Kaffirs, that they might defeat us and take it all from us, as it was all together, making a large packet. That we were in this danger because the people were sick and we could do nothing with the guns, and the powder was useless because it had been wet so many times. That therefore I should order the wallet to be opened, in which there were seven packets of rough diamonds very well sealed, and divide these among such persons as I thought proper, taking a receipt from each declaring that he had in his possession the said packet of rough diamonds with so many wax seals and such and such arms, and that at no time could the person who carried it, in case he should save it, claim more for doing so than what fell to his share, dividing it among all according to the merits of each one, and that this was done for the good of all, and for its better security. As this was approved by most of the company, and was the best plan in case some misfortune should befall us, I sent for the wallet, and in the presence of all ordered it to be opened and the seven packets of rough diamonds it contained to be covered with leather; and making out the receipts I entrusted them to the following persons: Thomé Coelho d'Almeida, Vicente Lobo de Sequeira, André Velho Freire, the pilot, Vicente Esteves, master carpenter, João Rodrigues, and myself, and the receipts and other papers relating to the transaction were deposited in my hands.

We had now been here two days, and we left at this place three of our comrades, one of them a bombardier and two ship's boys. The Kaffirs brought us nothing whatever for sale, but on the contrary did us all the harm they could, refusing to show us where the river could be forded, and therefore I sent one of our negroes to sound it with a pole and find the passage, and that he might do it with a better will I gave him a gold chain, for here they were not our captives, and to prevent them from escaping and joining the natives it was necessary to keep them well satisfied. He did this at once, sounding the river in one direction and another until he found the ford; and setting up sign posts, we crossed it with the water to our chins. As we had now entered the country of thieves, we endeavoured to go forward

as fast as we could; and we did so, skirmishing with them continually, which we did with great difficulty, being sick and weak, for provisions were scarce and the Kaffirs would not sell them to us.

We journeyed thus until we came to the river of Gold, which is very deep and wide, and flows with such fury that more than eight leagues before we came to it we found huge trees torn up by the roots in such quantities that they covered the shore, so that very often we could not pass through them, by which we knew that we were approaching some great river. The lord of all this region is a very old negro, named Hinyampuna. We were very disconsolate at the sight of this river, because we saw the impossibility of crossing it. But before long we saw two canoes coming down it, at the sight of which our fears diminished. Calling to them I sent to ask if they would carry us across, to which they replied in the affirmative and said that they would come the next day with more canoes in order to do so. I ordered a piece of calico to be given to them for this favourable answer, and they went away.

As we were waiting for them the next morning, those who were on guard saw advancing upon our side of the river more than two hundred Kaffirs very well armed with many assagais and arrows, and they were the first we had seen with these arms. Then I put all the company in order, and fired several guns. They approached all together with their king in the middle. He was bravely dressed in the Portuguese fashion with a doublet of taffeta inside out, a pair of long drawers back to front, and a hat upon his head. He wore this dress to show us that he had commerce with us, that we might trust him, but his design was immediately perceived. He brought me a present of two bunches of bananas, for which I paid him well, giving him a piece of calico. Treating with him that he should order his canoes to take us across, he said that he would do so if we paid for it, upon which we agreed to give three pieces of calico. After this was agreed upon he asked for two more. I said that as he was old and had come to see us I would give him the two other pieces he asked for. A little later he said we must pay still more, upon which I arose and withdrew to the tents, and ordered all to be ready with their arms in hand until past mid-day. Seeing that they did not withdraw, I sent him word that

the Portuguese never allowed other people to remain with them, and that I told him this because it was growing late and at night we might kill some of his followers with our guns, with which we kept watch all night. He answered that his people were going, and that he alone would remain with four Kaffirs waiting for the canoes to come next day, when he would give orders that we should be taken across, for he was our friend.

When I saw his people going I ordered two loaded guns to be fired above their heads, and when they heard the bullets whistling they threw themselves upon the ground, and sent to ask the meaning of this, for they did not wish to quarrel with us. I replied that this was an accident, and that in discharging two guns the bullets happened to go that way, whereupon they withdrew. The king remained as he said, and we kept strict guard all night, firing guns after each watch. In the morning, seeing how we had acted all the night and that he could not carry out his design without danger to himself, he took his leave of me, saying that he would send two Kaffirs to arrange with me for our passage, and whatever they did he would agree to. He kept his word, and sent me two Kaffirs, with whom I agreed for eight pieces of calico, which were not given to them till they had taken us across. Four of our comrades died here.

During the passage the Kaffirs had resolved to attack us in the following manner. They sent word to the Kaffirs on the other side to wait till half the company had landed and then to fall upon them, and they would do the same on their side. In order to accomplish this as the Kaffirs desired, they brought four small canoes, intending that they should cross one by one, but I, knowing their design, ordered the canoes to be tied together two and two that they might carry more people, and sent half the best men in them, with orders as soon as they arrived to take possession of a height which was visible and to entrench themselves while the others crossed over. And I ordered two men with guns to return in each two canoes, so that they could not escape. While this was being done we remained with our guns in our hands and lighted match, so that we gave them no chance of attempting anything; and it was extremely prudent to order two men to remain in the canoes, for if we had been divided we should have been lost. At last I crossed over with eight comrades, and then the Kaffirs in the canoes told me all

their design, bidding me be on my guard in future, for that was the country of the worst Kaffirs in Kaffraria, who would kill us simply for the sake of our clothes, and they were very numerous. Thanking them for their warning, I gave them a piece of calico, and went upon my way with all possible speed.

As soon as they knew we had crossed the river, many Kaffirs came in search of us, and we fought with them all day. The people were disheartened, because they wounded us from afar with their arrows, so that very often we could not see who injured us, because they shot at us from the thicket and we journeyed along the shore, and there were but few men who knew how to fire a gun. Fearing that they would destroy us, I hid in the thicket all day and marched by night along the sea shore, for the tide rises very high there and the woods are far off; and thus we journeyed by night while the tide was low, that when it rose it might efface our track upon the sands. On the eve of Pentecost at night as we went along we saw many fires on the shore, from which we concealed ourselves, keeping very close to the sea; and we passed quietly without being seen, pressing forward until the third watch when we sought cover in the thicket. We remained there keeping strict watch until it was night and the tide was half out, when we marched on in order till in the middle of the second watch we came upon many fires which stretched from the edge of the water to the thicket, that we might not escape them.

As we approached, Mocaranga Mukulu, who was king of all that region, sent us word that we must not pass through his country at night, for such was not the custom, and that he did not wish to fight with us. I replied that the Portuguese required no man's permission to pass everywhere. He bade me beware of what I did, and not to cause a war, and said that all the Portuguese who passed that way paid him tribute, as they did in other parts. Upon this message all the company raised a loud clamour, saying that for the sake of two pieces of calico which we could pay, I would destroy them all, for none of them were in a condition to fight.

Hearing this outcry, I summoned the persons aforesaid to determine with me what was best to be done. I told them that it seemed best to me to fight and pass through these Kaffirs by night, that they might not perceive our necessities; that the

guns inspired greater terror by night, and if a disaster befell us we might more easily escape with the precious stones; but if we waited till morning as they desired, a greater number might assemble than was now before us, and they would see that we were weak and disheartened. To this they replied that they were in such a state that they could not fight by day, much less by night, and if I insisted on doing so only ten or twelve men who were ashamed to do otherwise would fight, but all the rest would flee. That it might be that the Kaffirs would be contented with what we could give them and would withdraw, and thus we should escape exposing ourselves to such a risk. I insisted that we ought to pass, saying many times that if at the river of Blood the Kaffirs had seen how few of us were fighting they would have killed us all, but the darkness concealed this, and thinking that we were all fighting they fled; and God knows how many defenders there were the night I speak of. They bade me not to weary myself, for it was not advisable for us to pass by night, and this was the opinion of all. When I saw that such was the will of the best men there, I said that they were witnesses that we remained against my judgment, and that they must give me such documents to that effect as I thought necessary. It seemed as if my heart divined what afterwards occurred.

When I found that we must remain there until morning I sought the strongest position to be found, upon a height, and ordering many fires to be lit I took all the packets of diamonds and had them buried in secret, and ordered a large fire to be made above the place where they were; and we spent the rest of the night with our arms in our hands, without anyone sleeping. The next day the king himself came, and I arranged to give him nine pieces of calico and a scarlet coat; and then he asked for some pieces of silver from the head-trappings of a horse, and we gave them also; and he kept asking for more, and we acceded to all his demands, till, declaring himself satisfied, he took leave of us with demonstrations of friendship. When he had gone, as no others appeared, I ordered the diamonds to be dug up and returned them to those who had charge of them.

But as we were proceeding along the shore more than a thousand Kaffirs came out of the thicket and attacked the rearguard, which alone resisted until the Kaffirs defeated them and left them all badly wounded and stripped so that they had nothing

with which to cover their nakedness. The remainder of the company, seeing this defeat, fled into the thicket, but could not conceal themselves, for the Kaffirs immediately fell upon them and stripped them, whereas if they had fought we should not have been defeated, and had they fired their guns while we were loading ours, we could have gone on killing the Kaffirs until they retreated, as others more valiant than these had done in our frequent combats.

Finding myself naked and with deep arrow wounds in five places: one in the right temple, one through the chest, from which my breath escaped, one through the loins, from which my urine was mingled with blood for twelve days, and from which I could not extract the arrow-head, another in the left thigh, in which the iron also remained, and another in the right leg, from which the blood was flowing, I determined to go inland and remain with these robbers, that they might tend me, and to see if they would give me something with which to cover myself. Being in this mind, Thomé Coelho and the others sent me word that they would not go on without me, and that we should go forward, for Inhambane must be near. I replied that I was good for nothing, and bade them go on and God help them. I asked a sailor named Tavares, who was also wounded in one leg, to accompany me, and we would return if God gave us health, for it could not be but that the Kaffirs would take compassion on seeing our plight. He consented unwillingly, and we followed them for a good league until I could proceed no farther, and there in a desert place they all assembled and divided what they had stolen from us.

The king, recognising me, ordered the arrow-heads to be extracted and my wounds to be dressed with a certain oil they have, which they call *mafura*, and when this was done they gave me an old doublet without sleeves and a little of the provisions they had robbed us of. Here they divided all the treasures they had brought, setting more value on a rag than on the most precious diamonds, all of which the king kept for himself, for two of our little Kaffirs, who were with them, told him that they were the most precious of all, and he would be given a piece of calico for each of them. When they had made this division they went away, and we being left alone returned to the shore to see if we could find any of our comrades, carrying a lighted match

with which to make a fire at night. When we had gone a little way we heard whistling in a thicket, and turning round we saw two negroes clothed, whom we recognised as ours, and on speaking to them they told us to wait and they would go and call João Rodrigues de Leão, who was in the thicket. He came at once, and embraced me, saying that he had not been robbed, for he had hidden himself well; and taking off his coat he gave it to me, and told me that he had the packet of diamonds I had entrusted to him intact, bidding me dispose of them as I pleased. I answered that since he had guarded them so well he should carry them as far as Inhambane, and there we would decide what we must do. Thus we travelled on by night, for in the day these cursed Kaffirs would not have left us the miserable rags we wore. We were also joined by another of our comrades, a Frenchman named Salamão, whom I received with joy because he could bleed me, for I could not move on account of the congealed blood from my wounds; and he did this with a lancet which he carried.

Proceeding along the shore four days, we crossed a river with the water to our necks, which was as cold as snow, and did me great harm. Here we found most of our company, who were glad because the Kaffirs had given them food. Then André Velho Freire came to me and said that he had saved the packet of diamonds which I had entrusted to him, and asked my orders concerning it. I bade him carry it to Inhambane, and there we would decide as seemed best. Thus we journeyed on through the lands of Zavala, a chief or petty king who was our friend, until we met an old Kaffir, the subject of a king named Aquerudo, who as soon as he saw us refused to leave us, telling me that we must go through the territory of his king, and we would want for nothing; and so it proved from the time we met him until we reached Inhambane.

That day he made us travel far in order to reach the place where the king was; and when we arrived at night he made much of us, ordering us to be provided with everything necessary while we remained there, and killed a cow for us. He came to see me three times every night, bringing food and telling us not to be disturbed, for now we were in the country of the Portuguese, and he was like us, the only difference being that he was black. We remained there four days, after which he accompanied us for

a day upon our journey, and giving me two elephants' tusks he returned, leaving his eldest son to go with us to Inhambane with the old man aforesaid, who fed us all the way until our arrival, which was on the 19th of June.

We were well received there, and had no lack of food that night. The next day the pilot came to me with Father Diogo, who had reached the opposite bank of the river two days previously with the others of the company who were missing. They told me that Inyapata and Matarina, two kings there, were waiting for me to distribute in my presence all those who were on the opposite bank, that I might afterwards pay them for all they should expend therein. I rejoiced at this, saying that I had only arrived the day before, and that it seemed best to arrange first with regard to those who were on the side of Chamba, which was where I was, and that afterwards I would go there and do as they said.

That same day there came to me a Christian negro, who lived there, named André, who served those kings as interpreter when Portuguese came thither. He took me to his house, and I remained there till I went to Inhambane. The next day the aforesaid king came to see me, and I arranged with him that the people should be lodged in the houses of those Kaffirs who had most property, as he approved of this, but told me that it could not be done that day, because it was necessary to send for them, and he would return early the next day and bring them with him. And so he did, and when they were all assembled he told me that I must pay the expenses of these people. I answered that I would do so, and he objected, and replied that I had not so much as would serve to buy a chicken, being thus stripped, and how could they trust me? To this I replied that the word of a Portuguese was worth more than all the riches of the Kaffirs; and after much talking on both sides, which is what they most prize, he made me promise to pay all the expense, and the king then said that he was my security. Then he distributed the Portuguese as the Christian negro had advised, and calling them by their names he said "To this Kaffir you may entrust some grave man, for he is a good negro and rich." Thus all those on the side of Chamba, which is in the direction of Cape Correntes, were lodged, and crossing to the other side, where they made much of me, I did the same.

This is a most beautiful river, a league wide, and on the side of Chamba there is good anchorage for ships of three hundred tons burden; the middle is for the most part dry at low tide, and there is a quantity of shell-fish, of which the Kaffirs make use. The country itself is very healthy, and the best provided and cheapest I have ever seen, abounding with provisions, such as millet, *ameichueira*, *jugos*, which is like grain, mungo, sesame, honey, butter, very fine oxen, one of which, however large, is valued at two pieces of cloth, and numerous goats and sheep. The fish is the best I ever tasted in the whole of India, and so cheap that it is marvellous, for they will give a hundred very large mullet for a piece of cloth or a *motava* of beads, which is worth even less. The woods are full of oranges and lemons, and there is abundance of timber from which vessels may be built.

The articles of trade of this country are much ambergris and ivory. The Dutch have often been here, and according to what Matarina, one of the kings, said to me, they wish to carry on commerce, and nearly every year when they passed by they sent boats ashore to trade for oranges and cows, but since one of their boats was taken and some of their people killed, they have not sent ashore, but the Kaffirs have gone to the boats. I greatly fear that these enemies will get possession of this port, from what I know of some of their people, which I do not relate here for the sake of brevity, and because I know that it will not be prevented however much I write. Here I remained much cherished by these Kaffirs, especially the kings. Before I left seven persons died, and I believe it was through too much food, for we were all very weak and sickly, and afterwards in the midst of this abundance they took no care of what the consequences might be. Those who died were the following: Thomé Coelho d'Almeida, Vicente Esteves, João Gomes, João Gonçalves the *balono*, the gunner, and Bras Gonçalves.

Seeing that it was two years since a vessel had visited the port, and that there was an uncertainty whether one would come that monsoon, Motepe, the negro who served as interpreter, said to me that when three months had gone by and the Kaffirs saw there was no chance of their being paid, they would all turn upon me, and therefore I should go to Sofala where, as I was so well known, I should have no difficulty in finding some one to lend me four bars of merchandise with which to ransom these

people ; and that he would speak to the kings, telling them that my going to Sofala would be the cause of a vessel coming with merchandise to pay the expenses of the Portuguese. I was then very ill, and replied that I dared not do this for fear of dying on the way. Then he went and related the matter to Father Diogo, who strongly urged me to undertake the journey, bidding me have no fear of dying on the way, for God would take particular care of one employed in a matter so greatly to His service. I said I would do what he asked of me, and therefore Motepe might speak to the kings and get them to give me some negroes to accompany me. He did so at once, but they objected, saying that I must not leave their territory, for I was the security for all these people ; however the negro put forward so many arguments that he concluded the matter with them, giving them some pieces of cloth which he lent me for the purpose, and for which I paid him six times their value.

Having leave to go, I resolved to take a Portuguese comrade with me in case of emergencies, the best disposed of the company, whose name was Antonio Martins, and after the kings had given me twenty negroes to accompany me I bade them all farewell with many tears. They were full of doubt that I would return for them, saying that from Sofala I would go to my home and leave them to perish there. Hearing this, I seized the hands of Father Diogo, and kissing them, I made aloud a solemn vow to God to return for them, unless prevented by death. Upon this they became more tranquil, and I set out on the 2nd of June with the aforesaid companion. The jewels were left buried in a gourd, their existence being known only to the two who had brought them thither and to Father Diogo.

Having journeyed all that day, we crossed a river and slept upon the opposite bank, where more Kaffirs joined the company, laden with ivory and ambergris to sell at Sofala. This continued throughout the journey, till at last I had more than a hundred Kaffirs with me, and they did this because of the respect they have here for a Portuguese. I was well received everywhere upon the way, my chief regret upon this journey being the delay caused by the petty kings of that region, for though these people are nearer to us than those of the Cape of Good Hope, they make a greater marvel at the sight of a Portuguese. After travelling fifteen days I reached the kraal of a king greater than

those I had hitherto met, and who is called Inyame. He has twenty wives, and when I wished to set out the next day he would not consent to it, saying that he had sent for his relations, who were at a distance, to come and see me, for no Portuguese had ever passed that way before. And so it seemed from the concourse of people who flocked to see me, shouting, howling, and rejoicing. If I had not been so anxious to reach Sofala this would not have been a loss to me, because of the many things they brought me, which fed all the company, and yet much remained over which we carried with us, to serve for that part of the journey where there were no kraals.

A few days afterwards we came to another king, who resides opposite the islands of Bazaruto, and whose name is Osanya; and he received me in the same way. Thence I crossed a river which is dry at low tide and is more than three leagues wide. Having crossed it, I continued along the shore until the eve of the feast of Saint James, when I reached Molomono. Here commences the territory of a mulatto named Luis Pereira, who lives at Sofala, and who is the most respected man in these parts. Before reaching the kraal I heard that two of his sons were there, to whom I sent a letter I had ready to forward to Sofala a league before I reached it, in which I gave an account of my approach and begged them for the love of God to give me the alms of a shirt and a pair of drawers that I might cover my nakedness before coming into their presence.

When this writing was given to them they sent what I asked for and a cloak as well, and came to meet me on my way, and I embraced them with many tears. As I did not look like a living being, they made me lie down in a skiff, and when I asked them to send four Kaffirs with the net hammock in which I had come thither to bring my comrade who had remained two leagues behind very ill, they did so directly. The next day they had a large boat repaired for me, in which I might proceed to Sofala. Before this seventeen of my Kaffirs had died, the country being full of stagnant swamps, and my comrade and I were very ill. Embarking, we went and slept that night at Chilokane, which is also in the territory of Luis Pereira, where they killed a sheep for me, and held great rejoicing.

The next day in the afternoon, being the 28th of July, we reached Sofala, and when the married men and Luis Pereira saw

the vessel sailing up the river they came to meet it, and the Kaffirs shouting aloud: Muzungos, muzungos, they came on board and embraced me, and I, who could hardly walk, went with them to the church to offer a prayer, and asked that my comrade might be brought thither. He arrived in such a state that he asked for confession, and having confessed himself, rendered his soul to God, and was buried there, leaving me disconsolate.

Luis Pereira ordered me to be taken to a house and provided with everything necessary until the arrival of Dom Luis Lobo, who was captain of the said fortress; and as I was very ill they took me to the house, where I was anointed. After some days I became convalescent, and asked him to do me the favour of lending me gold with which to purchase four bars of merchandise, and I would give him whatever interest he chose and pledge all the property he knew I had in India; and besides risking nothing he would do me a great favour, and show great charity to those who were left at Inhambane; for as Nuno da Cunha, who had been captain of those parts, was dead, and there was but little merchandise, no pangayo would go thither, and they would be left to perish. He said he would do all I asked, if I would pledge my property, which I immediately did.

Thinking that I was not in a fit state to undertake such labour, they urged me not to venture on this voyage, reminding me of the great favour God has shown me in delivering me when so many others had perished, and since I was now in a Christian land I should remain there, for a man's first duty was to himself. To which I replied that please God no danger to my life should make me fail in what I held to be my duty, which was to return for my comrades. They, seeing my resolution, wearied themselves no more with these arguments, and having purchased a large boat from Luis Pereira for a hundred and twenty maticals, I placed in it four bars of cloth which I had bought, and taking with me a married Portuguese of the said fortress, I set out for Inhambane on the 15th of August.

Through delaying at Chiloane, after many storms I miraculously arrived ten leagues beyond Inhambane. The pilots thought we had not yet arrived there, and would have gone on, but I, knowing the country, having so lately passed through it, told them that it lay behind us. Going in that direction, three hours later we came to the island at its mouth, and going up the river

we arrived that night at Inhambane. Here they all came to receive me with many tears, saying that they owed me everything and that I came to deliver them from the captivity of Pharaoh, for the Kaffirs would no longer give them food and drove them out of their houses, and if I had delayed ten days longer they must all have perished beyond a doubt; but their gratitude did not last long.

When I had expended three bars of merchandise in ransoming them, repaying each one in particular for what he had spent, I would have gone with the bar which remained to the territory of Quevendo to redeem the jewels and valuables of which they had robbed us, that the owners might repay me as this deserved. I sent a present to this king Quevendo as soon as I arrived at Inhambane, for it was he who brought us thither after we were robbed and gave us food, as I have related, and the present was two pieces of cloth of Pate and ten pieces of ordinary calico, in gratitude for what he had done for us. He was so noble that he assembled all his people and killed many cows to celebrate this great honour with feasting. He sent me word that he was waiting for me to accompany me to the place where we were robbed, to ransom all they had taken from us.

But when I was preparing for my journey, leaving the people free and with plenty of merchandise to buy food during my absence, they opposed my departure, complaining to the kings of Inhambane, and asking why they allowed me to take all this merchandise out of their country, for it ought to remain where they had found hospitality. Hearing this, they sent me word that I must not by any means depart except to go to Sofala, but should use the goods I had left in buying produce of the country, which was ambergris and ivory. Then they resolved to rob me of what I had, and undermined my house one night.

Seeing that the whole company opposed me, I desisted from my intended journey, and sent word to Quevendo that I could not go thither, requesting him to forward a message to the place where the stolen goods were that they might be brought, and I would redeem them; and I asked him to let his son accompany the messengers. In reply he bade me remain there, and in fifteen days the things would arrive with his son, for he would go himself and speak to the people for the purpose. As soon as these men knew that I was to wait for the negroes, they all went

to the vessel in which I had come, and put out to sea, forcing me to embark before the monsoon, for even the Father was opposed to me. After obliging me to sail, we were driven back again, because it was not the monsoon, and that coast is very stormy.

When we put out again the wind blew so violently from the sea that we were driven ashore twelve leagues from Inhambane, whence we travelled on foot to Melonone, and thence in canoes until we reached Sofala. See now, Sir, how they repaid me for going for them at my own expense, for if I had refused to bring them from Inhambane, and had employed the merchandise I spent upon them in buying ambergris, there is no doubt that I would have brought back more than fifteen thousand cruzados, as there was a large quantity, no calico having been taken to that port for two years. Truly I marvel whenever I think that such men could be found in the world, who would let a stranger go and trade for what we had brought thither at the cost of such great hardships and enduring such famine as I have related, rather than I who had come to serve them all without exception, for whom I had shed so much blood, and to whom they owed such gratitude. God be praised in spite of all; but I wish that this should be kept in mind that henceforth men may see and consider for whom they risk their lives and lose their property.

From this fortress of Sofala we went to Mozambique, all except four of our comrades who arrived with us: Antonio Sigala, who was killed in Sofala, Pedro de Torres, a sailor who absented himself because of a theft he had committed, a ship's boy who married and remained there, and Fructuoso d'Andrade, who was drowned in the harbour of this fortress. Those who reached Mozambique were as follow: Father Diogo dos Anjos, Antonio Ferrão da Cunha, Vicente Lobo de Sequeira, and André Velho Freire; also the pilot Domingos Fernandes, the under-pilot Francisco Alvares, Miguel Correa the notary, Pedro Diniz the cooper, João Rodrigues de Leão, João Ribeiro de Lucena, João Rodrigues the carpenter, Manuel Gonçalves, João Carvalho, João Tavares, Antonio Gonçalves, Manuel Gonçalves Belem, Sebastião Rodrigues, Diogo de Azevedo, Salamão the Frenchman, Ventura de Mesquita, Fructuoso Coelho, a ship's boy whom they called Candalatu, Domingos Salgado, Belchior Rodrigues, João Coelho, Alvaro Luis, and Luis Moreno.

On landing we went in procession to Nossa Senhora do

Baluarte, carrying a wooden cross before us, and all chanting the litanies with great devotion. And after we had rendered thanks to God for all His mercies, by which He had brought us to a Christian land, Father Diogo delivered a pious discourse, reminding us of the many hardships from which God had delivered us and of the obligation we were all under to lead exemplary lives thenceforward. Thence all went to seek a ship in which to return to Goa.

NAVFRAGIO

DA NAO N. SENHORA DE BELEM

FEYTO NA TERRA DO NATAL NO CABO DE BOA ESPERANÇA, &
VÁRIOS SUCESSOS QUE TEVE O CAPITAÕ JOSEPH DE
CABREYRA, QUE NELLA PASSOU À INDIA NO
ANNO DE 1633, FAZENDO O OFFICIO DE
ALMIRANTE DAQUELLA FROTA ATÈ
CHEGAR A ESTE REYNO.

ESCRITOS PELO MESMO
JOSEPH DE CABREYRA,

OFFERECIDOS

A DIOGO SOARES
DO CONSELHO DE SUA Magestade, & SEU SECRETARIO
DE ESTADO EM MADRID.

COM TODAS AS LICENÇAS NECESSARIAS.

EM LISBOA
POR LOURENÇO CRAESBEECK IMPRESSOR D'ELREY.
ANNO DE MDCXXXVI.

NAVFRAGIO

DA NAO NOSSA SENHORA DE BELEM

Na terra do Natal no Cabo de Boa Esperança no anno de 1635.

Parti da barra de Lisboa para a India em seis de Março de 633 em Companhia de tres nãos, de que era Capitaõ mòr Antonio de Saldanha, fazendo eu o officio de Almirante na Nào Nossa Senhora de Belem, a mais fermosa, mais bem fabricada, & a mayor, que nunca navegou esta carreyra, & todos prosperamente em boa conserva, chegamos a Goa em 19 de Agosto do mesmo anno.

Depois de descarregadas as Nãos se tratou do concerto dellas, principalmente da em que eu hia, por necessitar mais delle, assim por haver arribado, como invernado neste Reyno. E por razões que se offereceraõ, houve esta Nào de ficar na India para melhor se concertar, o que fez de tudo o necessario atè dia do Apostolo Saõ Mathias 24 de Feveryro de 635 em que o Conde de Linhares Viso-Rey daquelle Estado veyo fazer desamarrar as Nãos, obrigando os officiaes ao trabalho, não so com sua assistencia, mas com grandes liberalidades, que com elles usou, de que aos da minha Nào não coube pequena parte, porque ao Mestre della Miguel Jorge o Grego, deu hum anel de hum diamante de muyto preço, que tirou da propria mão, & do pescoço hum chaveyro de ouro, que deu tambem ao Piloto; com que feytas as duas Nãos à vela, vi logo que na minha me quiz Deos mostrar hũ annuncio do triste fim que nos esperava; porque virando a proa para as prayas de Bardes, mostrava que era melhor ficar nellas, que seguir a principiada navegação, que muytas vezes atè as cousas insensiveis mudamente avisaõ dos sucessos futuros; mas esquecendo estes presagios com o tornarse a pòr a Nào a caminho (o que se fez com excessivo trabalho) & seguindo nossa viagem, não deyxeu eu de ficar com grande cuydado pelo que havia

sucedido, em razão do receyo que trazia, por haver estado a Náo em seco duas vezes, posto que depois que encalhou a primeyra, se havia concertado muy bem, o que tudo foy necessario por haver quebrado mais de quarenta cavernas, & braços, & have-remse-lhe cortado os mastros para que pudesse sair do bayxo, & depois de dada a querena, se emmastreou no Rio de Goa, com grandissimo trabalho por serem os mastros muy pezados, assim em razão do que excediaõ em grandeza aos que levou deste Reyno, como do excesso que faz o peso da Pugna, de que estes eraõ, ao pinho de Flandes.

E saindo para a barra para se acabar de aparelhar, & tomar a carga da Pimenta, & mais drogas, tornou a Náo a encalhar no banco que faz a barra, onde esteve em quãto a marè vazou, & na enchente sahio do bayxo, assim por espias dadas ao mar, que se viravaõ com a força dos cabrestantes, como por toas dadas nos navios da Armada, que se remavaõ a poder de braço; o que tudo foy necessario; porque de mais ser a Náo hum monte de madeyra, & já emmastreada; as pancadas que deu com a quilha foraõ muytas, atè porse em nado, & assim surta na barra, se lhe deu outra querena por ordem do Conde Viso-Rey, que em todos estes trabalhos acudio sempre com grandissimo cuydado, & so com sua presença se puderão vencer as muytas difficuldades, que entam se offereceraõ, supposto que o dano que se lhe achou, foy só no codaste hũa faceyra da quilha fóra.

A consideração de todos estes sucessos me animavaõ o receyo, com que vinha, & me fazia reparar muyto na volta, & mão governo da Náo, quando no principio desamarrou, & assim com este temor (ainda que vencido da esperanza que tinha em Deos nos levar a salvamento) fuy seguindo minha viagem, vendome em breves dias cõ novos trabalhos, em razão da pouca gente do mar que trazia, que não eraõ mais de cento & quarenta & cinco pessoas com os officiaes, de que a mais della vinha enferma, & debilitada, & a outra ainda mal convalescente das doenças que havia passado em Goa, & serme necessario vir de noite dando á bomba de roda com os escravos, que eraõ bem poucos, por poupar a gente do mar para as mayores necessidades; pois em razão da que convem a hũa Náo, & da que levey deste Reyno, que foraõ duzentas pessoas de mar, vinha eu desemparadissimo de gente, & ainda essa que trazia taõ enferma como tenho referido.

E desvelandome muyto a agua, que a Náo tinha, perguntey aos calafates donde procederia, & me responderaõ, que da aguada que tinhamos feyto para a viagem, & naõ me satisfazendo desta razãõ, assisti hũa noyte á bomba atê a esgotar de todo, para averiguar o bem que tinha, ou o dano que me esperava, mas ao outro dia achei a bomba com agua, & assim dahi por diante vinhaõ todos os negros ao convès a dar á bomba por exercicio quotidiano, & tiravaõ sempre quantidade della, o que me dava grande pena, porque ou fosse a agua das pipas, ou a que fizesse a Náo, era sempre de dous males duvidosos haver de ter hum por certo; porque ou a doce veria a faltar para o sustento da viagem, ou a salgada a crescer para impedila, com a felicidade que todos desejavamos. E esta afflicção occultava eu sempre a todos, pelos naõ desanimar, supposto que obrigados destes motivos foy geralmente profetizado o miseravel fim que tivemos.

Com esta ancia continuava a viagem trazendo sempre menos vèla, que a outra Náo, por conservar sua cõpanhia, & assim mo ter ordenado Sua Magestade em seu Regimento, & chegando á altura de cinco graos da banda do Sul entre os bayxos das sete irmãs, & os de Pero dos Banhos, nos deu hũa noyte hũ chuveyro taõ forte, que levou pelos ares a vèla de gavia grande, supposto que vinha arriada, & bem á sombra do Papafigo mayor, & nesta fayna se começou a sentir a falta da gente, assim por pouca, como por debilitada, com que trabalhosamente se acudia como convinha, por mais que a diligencia dos officiaes se adiantasse: porèm navegando assim para mais altura, nos levou tambem a furia do tempo outras vèlas de gavia, com que ao passo que nos creciaõ os trabalhos começavaõ os temores, & a agua que a Náo fazia a crescer para elles serem mais intimos, que este he hum dos tranzes mayores da navegaçaõ; porque tudo impossibilita.

Quasi nesta altura se apartou de mim a outra Náo, fazendo-se em outra volta; & se he que me fez os sinaes que o Regimento de Sua Magestade manda, de cà os naõ vimos, naõ faltando boas vigias, ainda que as Náos estavaõ hum pouco desviadas hũa da outra. Eu segui a mesma volta atê amanhecer, em que me achey só; mas virando a Capitania outra vez pelo rumo que o dia de antes levamos por ser o conveniente de nossa navegaçaõ, nos tornamos a encontrar, & com huma vara de bons ventos Suèstes que nos deraõ, fomos o primeyro dia de Mayo amanhecer com a Ilha de Diogo Rodrigues, que está em vinte graos ao Sul

da linha, a qual fomos correndo de longo muyto alegres, assim por irmos tambem navegados, como por fazermos ponto novo, parendonos a todos que em breves dias nos livrariamos dos perigos que ha no passar do cabo de boa Esperança, durandonos o vêto que então levavamos; mas a Capitania se foy sempre com a proa no mar, enchendo a altura, & se poz em mais de trinta & quatro graos, que he o Sol que os meus Pilotos tomáraõ, onde o vento passou ao Noroeste Oesnoroste, que saõ nesta paragem os inimigos mais certos, que esperaõ as Náos. Creceraõ os temporaes, amiudandose com tanta força, que conhecendo eu os achaques da minha Náo, me cheguey á Capitania, & lhe disse que eu me fazia na volta da terra, não só porque a razão o pedia, mas porque assim o ensinavaõ todos os Regimentos dos Pilotos antigos: com muyta causa, porque em paragem de tanta altura, & tanto ao mar, sempre o perigo he mais certo, & os remedios mais impossibilitados, & junto á terra achaõ as Náos mais abrigo, & em Abril, & Mayo (porque os ventos cursaõ Levantes, & Nordestes) he melhor ir ver terra do cabo em altura de trinta & hum para trinta & dous graos, & não desgarrar tanto ao mar a buscar tormentas: de mais que para os infortunios desta navegação sempre na terra se offerece mais prompto acolhimento. Pelo que nesta volta viemos ambas as Náos mais de oyto dias atè ver a primeyra terra daquella costa, que entendo era de trinta & dous para trinta & tres graos, donde contra o curso ordinario desta monção começáraõ os temporaes a ser taõ rijos, & continuos que parece que cada qual procurava de acabar com nosco de hũa vez, & era cousa digna de notarse, que apenas havia algũa bonança, & lançavamos as Rascas ao mar para colher algum peyxe (que he o desta paragem com grande excesso o melhor que deve de haver em nenhũa do mundo) logo se nos seguia nova tormenta, de sorte que muytas vezes com o peyxe entre os dentes se acudia a marear as vèlas, & tinhamos já por certo sinal de borrasca, este breve alivio da pescaria, que com ser cõ tanta pensaõ, ainda o julgavamos por favor da ventura: que este bem tem o estado da miseria, que atè os pequenos alivios recebe por grandes contentamentos.

A Náo já neste tempo com o exercicio continuo de a desagoar, vinha muy falta de fuzis, chapeletas, & torneis de ferro para a bomba de roda, que as ordinarias não vertiaõ agoa por sairem da India mal concertadas, culpa do Calafate da viagem, que em Goa

proveraõ em lugar do que levey deste Reyno, por ficar em terra muy enfermo, & este tambem o estava, como de sobreselente, & na India com a pressa da embarcaçaõ tratou mais de meter quatro fardos de canela, do que o necessario para as bombas; & o Mestre da Náo (que he o que podia acudir a estas faltas) tambem adoeceo malignamente, & muytos dias dantes não pode vir a bordo a tratar do que mais cónvinha para viagem tão prolongada: de maneyra que todas estas cousas ao presente nos augmentavaõ o trabalho, & desde Goa parece que já nos encaminhavaõ a perder.

Mas por intentar todos os remedios, me cheguey à outra Náo, & lhe pedi alguns fuzis, & arneis de bomba, & que me emprestasse algum Calafate, & Carpinteyro, & outras cousas, que tambem me eraõ necessarias; & porque neste dia em que lhe manifestey minha necessidade andava o mar grosso, & inquieto, não ouve mais tempo que de falarmos, & dahi a dous me responderaõ que deytasse o batel fóra para me darem o que quizesse, que foy o mesmo que negarmo cortes, mas não piadosamente, porque lançarmos o batel era impossivel, assim porq̃ elle não estava calafetado, antes muy esvahido, & huma das cousas que eu pedia era calafate, como se me faltava gente para a mareação das vèlas, quanta mais me era necessaria para guarnecer aparelhos, & lançalo ao mar, alem de que tambem neste tempo trazia rendido o garlindeo da mayor, & nem para se fazer hum de pão havia Carpinteyro da obrigação que o fizesse, porque o de viagem de mais de ser velho, estava muy doente, & o de sobreselente no mesmo estado.

Perdidas pois as esperanças de que a outra Náo me socorresse, assim pelo que me responderaõ, como porque a furia do tempo não dava lugar, a necessidade sempre mestra, & investigadora de remedios, me encaminhou a valerme do que tinha na propria Náo, & assim mandey arrancar todas as argolas que cravaõ da banda de fóra da proa, & todas as que vem debayxo da varanda, que hũas, & outras servem, para que os homens se embalsem, quando convem concertar, ou leme, ou proa, & destas metidas no fogo fiz fuzis, & torneis, remedeando como melhor pude, o concerto da bomba.

A primeyra manhaã que o tempo nos deu lugar, mandey aos Calafates assim doentes com mais algũs homens, que os ajudassem pela banda de fóra, a ver se havia algũa estopa sahida por bayxo

das mesas de guarnição, e à proa, & popa, que como a Náo trabalhava muyto com os balanços por estes lugares obrigaõ as enxarceas a muyto dano, & todo o que se vio, se calefetou o melhor que foy possivel; & imaginando eu que só por estas partes fazia a Náo agoa, sempre que daqui avante nos dava algum temporal, tanto que era mais brando, mandava pessoas de confiãça ao poraõ, & por entre cubertas, a ver se ouviaõ, ou enxergavaõ algũa agoa; mas nunca se descubrio outra cousa, que gotejar da que vinha pelas amuradas, por estarem já as cubertas muy abaladas, & o costado muy esvahido, levada a estopa de muytas partes, com os grandes balanços da Náo.

E porque o trabalho crecia cada vez mais, reparti a gente da Náo em tres esquadras: o Guardiaõ Belchior Dias com os grumetes não só servia o seu officio, mas o de Calafate, ajudando sempre com grande cuydado, & vigilancia no apresto dos fuzis, & chapetas da bomba de roda, que por infinitas vezes faltaraõ, quebrando a cadea por ser muyto pesada. O Contramestre com os marinheyros, que tambem acudia a seu quarto com pontualidade, & Simaõ Gonsalves Franco despenseyro da Náo com os passageyros, & alguns Artilheyros, que estavaõ com mais saude para o trabalho, a que todos assim por esta ordem acudiaõ com grandissimo desvelo, & assistencia.

Entramos no mez de Junho, que he a força do inverno, naquella costa, como bem á nossa custa o experimentamos, com os grandes furações, & temporaes, que aqui tivemos, & dous dias antes de Santo Antonio nos deu hũ tão rijo, que nos deyxou a todos atemorizados, & sem darnos lugar de tomar alento nos entrou outro a noyte do mesmo Santo taõ forte que ficandome a Capitania por popa, por fugir ao mar, fuy correndo com os Papafigos, com o farol aceso, como S. Magestade ordena: mas quando amanheci, foi sem a outra Náo, a qual não vi mais atè o dia em que encalhey.

O ponto dos Pilotos se fazia perto da Bahia de Saõ Bras, mas com a furia dos ventos, com os balanços que a Náo dava não tinhamos lugar para se dar ás bombas, que era só hũa das do zoncho, & outra da roda, com quem intentamos todas as diligencias para haver de as concertar, atè querer tiralas, & meter outras velhas, que vinhaõ na Náo, o que não pudemos nunca effeytuar, em razão do tempo, & a que laborava só ficou mal concertada, & assim nos ajudava pouco.

Pelo que considerandome entre tantos apertos, & que para nossa conservação vinha a Náo muy falta de tudo, & sobrada de miserias, & que os temporaes cresciam por momentos mais rigurosos, como que nos queriam consumir, comecey a tratar do ultimo remedio, que em casos semelhantes se usa no mar, ordenando que se fizessem gamotes no convès, prevenindo-me assim para os sucessos, que antevia; & como a gente era tão pouca, & o trabalho tanto, quando a occupava em hũa cousa, me faltava para a outra; mas com tudo se concertaram quantidade de barris para os gamotes, e não tardando muyto avelos mister, em que os passageyros, & os negros continuavam neste tempo com mayor fervor, no que Simão Gonsalves assistio sempre, gastando muyto de sua matalotagem para os esforçar, & animar, assim aos negros, como aos mais que o ajudavam.

E posto que as afflicções erão grandes, todos ainda neste tempo tinhamos muytas esperanças de que Deos nosso Senhor nos daria algum vento prospero para poder continuar nossa viagem, & dobrar o cabo de boa Esperança tam tormentoso, & fatal para os navegantes; mas como as tempestades nunca nos davam mais descanso, que de cinco, seis horas, & nellas ficava o mar sempre tam grosso, & levantado, que este vinha a ser o mayor perigo, porque a Náo com os balanços de mar entravès era possivel que abriria mais, chamey a todos os officiaes que vinham nella, & a gente do mar mais pratica, & outras pessoas, & Religiosos que me acompanhavam, presente o Escrivã delRey, lhes propuz, que considerando o estado, em que me via, & a paragem em que me tomavam tantas miserias, discursassem todos em seu entendimento, & vissem as suas consciencias o que melhor se podia fazer para salvação daquella Náo, Pimenta de Sua Magestade, & o mais que nella vinha, & dando-lhe o Escrivã o juramento dos Santos Evangelhos a cada hum per si, se assentou por todos, que a Náo não estava em estado de poder tornar acometer o cabo de boa Esperança, & que antes arribassemos a Moçambique, se pudessemos lá chegar; porem o Mestre foy de parecer como mais experimentado, que a Náo não podia atravessar a buscar a cabeça da Ilha de São Lourenço, & em razão dos ventos Nordestes, que muytas vezes costumam a ser naquella altura muyto aturados, & tormentosos, & ser necessario o payrar com a Náo, trabalho, que ella já mal poderia sofrer, & que antes fossemos ao longo da costa alcançando onde mais perto pudessemos chegar.

E tomado pelo Escrivão este assento no livro de S. Magestade, ficamos todos bem desconsolados, & muyto affligidos, pois havendo não só dous annos, & tres mezes, que aviamos partido da barra de Lisboa, mas cinco que durava esta viagem, desda primeyra arribada que fiz a este Reyno, nos viamos entre nossos trabalhos com mais certeza da morte, que de poder chegar a este Reyno desejado, premio, & apetecido descanso de todos os que se deliberaõ a tam prolongada navegação.

Estando as cousas neste estado, os temporaes com pouca differença huns de outros nos não largavão nunca, & como a agoa principal que a Náo fazia era pelo alto, & vinha por cima, calava pelos payoes da Pimenta, com o que pouco a pouco foy inchando, & por algũa greta, que abrio cahia no porão de sorte, que por momentos crecia em tanta quantidade, que de todo nos julgamos por perdidos. Pelo que obrigados da falta da gente, que não chegava a guarnecer as bombas, & os gamotes; acudiaõ a trabalhar atè as mesmas molheres, desanimando a todos, & enfraquecendo-os muyto, assim as furias das tempestades, que nos não largava, como o grande frio que nos regelava, & o desvelo continuo de tantas noytes; porem como em quanto se sustenta a vida nunca desmayaõ as esperanças, depois de pòr todas em Deos, fiavamos de nosso trabalho, todo o remedio de tantas necessidades, & assim para tomar algum alento, se revezava a gente, & acudiaõ todos pontualmente à sua obrigação.

E como eu atè então não presumia que toda a agoa era por cima, ordeney a hum marinheyro meu por nome Manoel Fernandes, que era o que só nos ajudava, por ser bom Carpinteyro, porque o da Náo, & o de sobreselente, não sahiaõ de seus gasalhados (hum por muyto velho, & ambos por estarem doentes) que fosse a bayxo, & fizesse exquisitas diligencias haver se podia dar com agoa para a remedearmos, & assim em hũa noyte de muyto tempo, topou na proa por onde a Náo a fazia, achando-a aberta por onde chamão o coral, & tudo como hũ canissado, de sorte que quando cahia com o balanço, se metiaõ hũs paos pelos outros, entrando hum rio de agoa, fazendo hum estrondo grande, medonho, & triste, & se hũa impulheta deyxamos de dar às bombas, & gamotes, fomos a pique ao fundo, porque ainda assim a agoa crecia, mas, parecendo-nos que tinhamos nas nossas mãos este breve intervalo da vida, por sustela se trabalhava excessiva, & anciosamente.

Mandey com tudo ao Mestre, & ao Guardiaõ com algũas pessoas mais, que vissem se naquella parte podia haver algum concerto, mas conhecendo elles que alli era a fortaleza da Náo, donde vem a rematar, & fechar toda a obra della, vieraõ muyto desconsolados ; mas nem assim não cessando de buscarlhe algum remedio, se nos o tempo permitisse algum jazigo : quizeraõ nossos peccados que indo eu abayxo aos gamotes, que pareciaõ o retrato do mesmo inferno, assim com a matizada, & grita dos que trabalhavão, & estrondo da agoa que cahia, como com os grandes balanços que tudo arrojava de hum ao outro bordo, sem haver quem se pudesse sustentar, nem ainda estando pegados, & mandando eu chamar a este Manoel Fernandes para eu ver pessoalmente o que se podia fazer, vindo decendo pela escotilha donde estava o primeyro gamote, com hum balanço cahio por ella até o porão, & quiz nosso Senhor que o guardava para valernos no que ao diante direy, que não topou em cheyo em nenhum dos paos que estavaõ sobre a cuberta do porão, donde se enchiaõ os barris da agoa, à maneyra dos que se poem nos possos das noras para afastar os alcatruzes, que se não quebrem nas paredes ; mas deu tam grande pancada sobre a agoa, que erão mais de dez palmos, que vindo para cima meyo desconjuntado, & mohido, acabey de perder quasi toda a esperanza que podia ter de remedio humano, confiando só no do Ceo, pois não havia outra pessoa, que me ajudasse na obra de carpintaria com tão boa vontade, nem com tanta perfeycão, & sendo que sempre nestas Náos vão de ordinario entre a gente do mar homens deste officio, & de outros, nesta parti da India só com hum Thomè Fernandes, que nos havia cahido ao mar de hum vagado, havendo ido a bordo estando sangrado algũas vezes.

E porque nenhum remedio nos faltasse, tinhamos ordenado huma moneta estofada, para que dando-nos o tempo lugar a corressemos por bayxo da proa da Náo para por esta via se vedasse algũa agoa, o que o tempo nos não permitio nunca, antes rebentando pouco a pouco os payois de Pimenta se começarão a entupir as bombas (rigurosa demonstração em tantas miserias, & quasi indicio certo, que nos profetizava o ultimo tranze.)

Neste tempo nos faltou o Calafate de viagem de morte subita todo inchado, por se haver metido muytas vezes na agoa frigidissima, o que despertou o animo de todos para nos aparelharmos

a dar conta a Deos de nossos peccados, confessando-nos, & fazendo outros actos de Catholicos.

As tormentas não cessavão sem nos permitir lugar de descanso por quatro horas aturadas, & era tanto mayor nosso trabalho, quanto mais nos chegavamos às ultimas miserias de perdernos.

E assistindo eu no convez com toda a gente, para que trabalhassem com mais pressa, por nos irem já faltando as bombas, que occupavão huma Estacio de Azevedo Coutinho com seus escravos, & até sua molher D. Isabel da Branches, que com animo robusto offerecia à dureza do trabalho a brandura de suas mãos; & na outra revezados, hora Simão Gonçalves, hora o Guardião, que sempre acudião com singular cuydado, & eu no continuo laborar dos gamotes, me gritavão decima, que mandasse gente do mar a bracear a vèla de correr, por não atravessar a Náo, que já governava pesadamente, por levar toda a proa metida debayxo do mar, & nos não desse algum atravessado, que a acabasse fazer pedaços; que suposto que estava gente às escotas, não bastava quando o mar crecia; & assim sempre que mandava algũs homens do mar, quando tornavão aos gamotes, se achavão mais dous, & tres palmos de agoa à popa, & à proa dobrados duas vezes, com cujos intervalos se acabarão de entupir as bombas, & só os gamotes laboravão com muyto trabalho, pela muyta Pimenta que vinha na agoa: e por isto não desocupava a gente para haver de alijar, que he hũ dos remedios destas necessidades, se bem a Náo vinha tam descarregada, que o que então tinha de agoa lhe faltava de peso; que se viera como costumão as da India, muytos dias antes nos tiveramos ido a pique sem nenhum remedio; mas com tudo sendo-me necessario alijar para mais alivio da Náo, o não podia fazer, vendo que me havia de levar toda a gente se o quizeria dispor, & gastar o tempo, que era o que eu mais poupava; & só quem experimentou o que he huma Náo da India com algũa carga entre cubertas, pòde julgar como nos era possivel acudirmos com tão pouca gente ao que tinhamos entre mãos, & ao trabalho de alijar.

Tam rigoroso aperto me aconselhou a prevenirme para o que esperava, & assim mandey por alguns negros, que por pequenos não servião para a bomba, com o Tanoeyro, & Meyrinho pòr em cima mosquetes, balas, coleyras de cargas, polvora, & as mais munições, que tudo mandey meter em pipas, & barris estanques, & juntamente algum arroz, que tudo ao diante nos foy necessario.

Pouco mais depois do São João, para remate de nossas ancias, veyo a Pimenta a fazer code já por cima da agoa, de maneyra que huns àpartala com paos, & outros a tirala, não vinhão acima em cada empulheta quatro barris de agoa, & ainda essa ametade era Pimenta.

Aqui pòde considerar todo o juízo desapayxonado, ou quem se vio em semelhantes naufragios, quaes estariamos todos, abarbados com a morte, sem divisar outro remedio mais que a immensa misericordia de Deos; & assim tomando a Virgem Santissima por nossa intercessora, que como Mãe de piedade ouvio nossos clamores, & nos deu o tempo algum alivio.

E porque já neste hia toda a proa da Náo quasi metida debayxo do mar, & os gamotes de todo entupidos com a Pimenta, por haverem arreventado todos as payois della, de sorte que só com enxadas se poderia tirar, fiz outro assento com os officiaes, & gente do mar, sobre o que se devia fazer, para salvarmos as vidas, & o mais que pudesse escapar, & assentou-se por commum voto de todos, já que as misérias nos chegavão a tanto aperto, que fossemos em demanda da terra para encalhar com a Náo, & salvar a vida, o que a tivesse destinada por Deos.

E tomada esta miserrima resolução no livro delRey, fomos a buscar a terra, que ao outro dia vimos ser o principio da terra do Natal de trinta & dous graos, & não foy menos festejada, que se descobrimos a deste Reyno, que hum estado penoso faz que alvorecem atè as mesmas desgraças.

Aqui por aliviar a Náo em vespóra de S. Pedro, deytamos a verga grande ao mar bem resistidos do tempo, que ainda tormentoso mal nos prometia nem este breve desafogo, & indo assim correndo a terra por ver se descubriamos alguma praya, ou enseada, onde com menos risco, & mais cõmodidade pudessemos encalhar, vimos hũas serras muy altas, & cortadas como de algum Rio, & hũs fumos em partes, como que havia povoações de gente; & como sempre nestes casos são tantos os pareceres, & as opiniões como as pessoas, me foy necessario particular favor de Deos para tomar resolução certa do que convinha que foy chegarme bem à terra, para melhor poder divisar o que viamos; mas ficando-me o vento mais escasso, não pude canjar senão quasi hũa legoa mais adiante das referidas serras.

Determinada a mais gente a encalhar logo com a Náo por recearem irem-se a pique, por quanto a agoa crecia cada vez

mais, eu o não consenti, antes atropellando por todos os pareceres, & confusões, mandey surgir com hũa ancora, não cessando de dizerem huns, que alli nos haviamos de afogar sem remedio algum, o que não chegaria a todos se não encalhassemos: outros, que aquella noyte por isto ser já bem tarde, nos havia de quebrar a amarra, & dar a Náo à costa, & com a escuridade não ser possivel escapar pessoa algũa.

Com tudo entre este laberinto de pareceres, & guiado de melhor discurso, mandey lançar o batel fóra, no que tambem ouve bravas opiniões, & grandissima confusão; e em fim metendome nelle já disposto a morrer, ou a reconhecer a praya que nos ficava atraz, & em que sempre puz o olho para nossa salvação, & bem pronostiquey como ao diante succedeo, levey comigo ao Guardião da Náo por obrigado acompanharme quando sahia della, & trinta & sete homens mais, todos armados com seus mosquetes, & espingardas, hum barril de polvora, ballas, & a corda necessaria, sem nenhum mantimento, porque a pressa o não permitio.

E pedindo ao Padre Jeronymo Lobo da Companhia de Jesu quizesse acompanharme naquelle tranze, pois em todos os da Náo o havia feyto com grande caridade, elle por sua muyta virtude ouve por bem de o fazer: juntamente chamey ao Padre Fr. Antonio Capellão da Náo, & sendo bem tarde me larguey della, que vista de fóra estavam torcidas as sintas à maneyra de hum cajado, & determinando primeyro reconhecer as serras que havia discurrido, que a praya que me ficava defronte da Náo, disse aos que nella estavam, que atè o quarto da madorra tornaria a dar razão do que tivesse visto.

E sendo eu julgado de todos que hia a morrer por quanto na aspereza daquella costa mal se podia navegar com embarcação muyto grande, quanto mais em hum batel tão pequeno; com tudo entendendo que só por este caminho tão arriscado podia haver algũa esperanza de remedio, tendo-a muy grande em Deos nosso Senhor, me resolvi entre tantos trabalhos a exporme a este com tão evidente perigo de minha vida: mas como confiava que o logro havia de ser grande (ainda que o aperto foy hum dos particulares em que me vi) tudo considerava facil no proveyto de poder chegar a terra, aonde dando a Náo à costa, era força, que a mayor parte da gente se salvasse em jangadas, em paos, & taboas; & que indo assim algum meyo morto, ou de frio, que

era grandissimo, ou ferido dos prègos, & rachas, & atropelado do rolo do mar, que arrebetava furiosissimo muyto antes de chegar à costa, não visse algum Alarve de entre aquelles matos, & pelos roubarem acabassem de os matar, a cujo resguardo eu podia acodir, com a gente que me acompanhavão. E tambem tomando terra deyxallos assim armados, cubertos com alguma trincheyra, ou valo para defensa dos Cafres que bayxassem à praya, como para recolher seguro tudo o que podesse sair a terra, & voltarme outra vez para a Náo, para o que conviesse fazerse della.

Com se remar fortemente, & a agoa ir comnosco, não pude chegar a terra, senão com o ar muy pardo, depois de se haver posto o Sol, & me vi em grande necessidade, por andar o mar muy alterado, & nos não dar lugar a descobrir nada; & era grande mercè de Deos não arrebetar no batel algũa das muytas ondas, que de longe vinhão quebrar na costa, porque infalivelmente pereceramos todos: & como com a noyte não podiamos ver, nem ainda as serras altas, alargando nos hum pouco espaço para fóra surgimos com huma fateyxa, escolhendo este pelo ultimo remedio, pois não descobriamos outro, aparelhando-se cada hum em seu coração, para dar conta de seus peccados, parecendo-nos que nos não poderiamos sustentar sobre o mar, nem duas horas.

Mas por entre a grande miseria daquella noyte, assim com os grandissimos frios, como com o muyto mar, que atravessava por cima do batel, veyo rompendo a manhã, pelo que tratamos logo de fazer ao que haviamos vindo; mas sem divisar paragem donde pudessemos chegar com o batel, nem ainda que vimos as serras talhadas, destinguir claramente se havia Rio caudaloso; porque como o mar na resaca andava muy levantado, & arrebetava em flor muyto distante della, por serem tudo bayxos, era impossivel reconhecer o que pretendiamos.

E com esta desconsolação ao longo da costa fomos remando outra vez para a Náo com excessivo trabalho, por quanto nos detinhão as agoas, que velozmente corrião para o cabo de boa Esperança, & a gente não só cortada dos trabalhos passados, mas muyto fraca, pela falta de comer; & assim andavamos pouco; mas com tudo com o cuydado em vigiar se havia algũa parte onde pudessemos chegar, o que não permitio Deos que fizessemos, porque quiz sua divina providencia que toda a obra fosse sua, pois sendo isto quasi às tres da tarde, em dia de S. Pedro, estando

à vista da Náo, não pude chegar a ella, & surgindo outra vez para descançar a gente, tornou o vento a crescer do Suèste (que he travessam naquella costa) e o mar a cruzarse dos tempos passados Oèstes, Oèssuduèstes, de maneyra que vendo-nos em tam miseravel estado, recorremos todos a pedir a Deos misericordia, pois mostrava que nem era servido de que tornassemos à Náo a buscar nossos companheyros.

E fazendo o Padre Jeronymo Lobo em alta voz hum acto de contrição, que todos repetiamos, puzemos a popa no mar, & a proa em terra, & remando a todo impeto, porque o batel fosse mais despedido levados do vento, & das ondas, nos dispuzemos a encalhar onde melhor pudessemos, & já perto da terra veyo hum mar como hum monte, que cubrindo-nos por cima, ficou o batel cheyo de agoa, & a não ser hum marinheyro, a quem chamão Antonio Domingues, que hia governando com hum remo por leme, junto do qual eu hia, sem duvida fora este o ultimo tranze; mas sempre animado, & com grande sentido procurava que não atravessassemos no alto deste mar, a que logo se seguirão outros não menos terriveis, como he costume em costas bravas. E gritando pela Virgem do Rosario sempre protectora nas mayores miserias, foy ella servida que fossemos a terra por bayxo delles, & misturados com as ondas sem ninguem se afogar, antes levando todos suas armas nas mãos, aventurando-se mais os que melhor nadavão, que em tomando pè, acudião ajudar aos outros, se forão salvando todos. Eu que sabia mal sustentarme sobre a agoa me deyxey estar atè que puxarão por mim, & tambem pela misericordia de Deos fuy a salvamento.

Tiramos as munições, & a polvora enxuta, por ir em barril estanque, tratey primeyro que tudo de que se fizesse fogo nas pedras das espingardas para enxugarmos as armas, & voltando para o batel, vi que estava já meyo quebrado, & todo cheyo de area, julgando este por hum dos mayores milagres que Deos nosso Senhor nos fez, nos abraçamos huns aos outros, dando-lhe muytas graças; & como pessoas que de novo naciámos para esta vida, havendonos visto quasi na outra.

Recolhemo-nos logo a hum pequeno mato que nos pareceo mais acomodado, assim para nos defendermos dos Alarves da terra, como para nos enxugarmos, fazendo cada hum fogo onde melhor lhe pareceo, o que bem permitia a muyta lenha de que esta terra abunda.

Neste tempo tanto que os da Náo virão que o batel virára logo entenderão pelo grosso mar que fazia, que me hia a perder, & picando a amarra, largarão o traquete, & vierão para o mesmo lugar, que era pouco mais adiante que as serras que atras digo, onde sempre tivemos tenção de encalhar, & como o vento era Levante, vinhão em popa, o que visto por nós fomos correndo a praya, & lhe puzemos na ponta de hũa lança hũa toalha, para que vissem, que nos não havíamos afogado, & que os podíamos ajudar quando encalhassem: mas como com o grosso mar nos não podião ver, & a Náo não queria governar, ora punha a proa para o mar, ora para a terra, imaginando que os mais que tinhamos vindo no batel eramos afogados, se forão buscar a praya, em que assima muytas vezes tenho fallado, & eu havia ido reconhecer, & nella encalhárão, muy perto onde hum rio say ao mar, que de hũa, & outra parte tudo he bayxo de area, & pelo canal vaza, & enche a marè com muyto impeto, sendo donde tocárão a terra, mais de hum terço de legoa, & como era bayxamar, & andava toda a costa em flor, não divisárão por então o canal do Rio, & abonanzando o tempo algum pouco, tiverão mais esperança de vida, passando aquella noyte, & o dia seguinte em mil discursos.

He necessario advirtir aqui, que tanto que me sahi da Náo, deyxando ordem para isso, alijárão ao mar tudo quanto estava á proa, & no mais corpo da Náo por cima, com que se puderão sustentar até vir encalhar.

Ao outro dia depois de a Náo estar encalhada, botárão ao mar hum balão que vinha nella do Conde Viso-Rey que foy todo o nosso remedio, & se meterão nelle os mais aventureyros a ir reconhecer se tinham canal, ou paragem comoda para desembarcar, que posto que o que havia era muyto estreito, & de sete até oytó palmos de agoa, não dava jazigo senão a espaços, porque quebrando o mar no bayxo, corria toda a costa com grandissimo impeto, & impetuosa resaca.

O dia em que me perdi no batel, que foy o mesmo em que encalhou a Náo, vierão a demandar algũs Alarves a gente que comigo tinha vindo, que eu deyxei com o Padre Jeronymo Lobo, por eu haver ido com algũs homens por cima de hũa serra a descobrir aonde a Náo estava encalhada, & com toalhas lhe fizemos muytos sinaes, para que todos nos animassemos, assim elles por ver que havíamos escapado da força do mar, & que tambem podião vir a terra, aonde os podíamos ajudar, como

nòs, parecendo-nos que tínhamos companheyros, para os futuros trabalhos que esperavamos, que não he pequeno alivio para os desgraçados, ver que tem participes em seus males.

Ao outro dia antes de amanhecer mandey ao Guardião, & Simão Franco, com mais quatorze pessoas da melhor gente que tinha vindo comigo todos armados, para que fossem defronte donde a Náo estava aos ajudarem no que conviesse, em quanto eu o não podia fazer, por ficar acompanhado o resto da gente, a mais della impossibilitada para poder caminhar: partidos elles veyo o Sol saindo, & de entre os matos ájuntar-se poucos, & poucos, tantos alarves, que vierão a ser mais de trezentos, o que nos poz em grande cuydado, por sermos tão inferiores em numero, & os mais delles quebrantados da agoa do mar, & não bem armados.

He esta terra de ares excellentissimos, & de grandes matos, madeyros muy altos, & grossos, & de suaves cheyros, supposto que os frios são excessivos, ha muyta lenha, & como o Sol levanta aqueyta bastantemente a terra; isto he no inverno, que quando se chega mais a nòs, não deyxá de haver calma, mas fuy sofrível sem fazer mal o Sol, porque andando nòs sempre a elle nos não adoeceo nunca ninguem, antes vindo a gente muy doente, convaleceo a mayor parte della, & só nos morrerão quatro, ou cinco pessoas, que do mar vinhão muy enfermas; & com o temor, & espanto de se verem deytados naquellas prayas, acabarão as vidas nos primeyros cinco, ou seis dias, os quaes enterramos em hum lugar, que para isso se escolheo, por nos parecer que morreria muyta gente, pondo-lhe hũa Cruz sobre a sepultura, o que nos movia a grande magoa, & acrecentava mayores saudades, por ver nossos companheyros enterrados donde nunca puzerão pès mais que alimarias bravas, ou aquelles Alarves naturaes, que tambem se distinguem pouco das proprias féras.

A gente desta terra he muyto enxuta, & direyta dos corpos, grande das estaturas, & fermosa de gestos, muy sofredora de trabalhos, fomes, & frios, vivem duzentos annos, & ainda mais com boa saude, & com todos os dentes, & são tão ligeyros, que andão por cima das frogozidades das serras, tão velozmente, como veados, andão cubertos com humas pèles por cima dos hombros, que lhe chegão por bayxo dos joelhos, estas são de vaca, mas por seu artificio as abrandão tanto, que parecem hum veludo, entre elles tambem ha pobres, & ricos, mas isto vem a

ser o que tem mais, ou menos vacas; trazem todos na mão hũs paos de quasi dous palmos, & por remate delles hum rabo como de Raposa, que lhe serve de lenço, & abano, usão de humas alparcas redondas de pele de Elefante, que trazem dependuradas nas mãos, & nunca lhas vi postas nos pès: as armas de que usão são Azagayas com seus ferros bem feytos, & largos, seus broqueis de pele de Elefante com impunhadura como os nossos, mas á feyção ou modo de adargas; os mais ricos se servem de outros: todos trazem cachorros cortadas as orelhas, & rabos, com que cação porcos monteizes, & veados, como tambem Bufaros, Elefantes, Tigres, & Leões, & muytos cavallos marinhos, & das aves ha perdizes, galinhas do mato, tambem ha cazeyras, mas são muyto pequenas, pombos verdes, & papagayos, que he muy bom comer, porque destas matamos muytas, tambem ha coelhos, lebres, ginetas, que tudo isto tomamos em laços: os Reys tem quatro, cinco, & sete mulheres, estas todas são as q̃ trabalham, semeyão, & lavrão a terra com hũs paos para disporem suas searas, que são de milho tão grosso, ou mais que linhaça: tambem o ha de maçarocas; semeão balãcias muy grandes, & muy boas, feyjões, abobaras de muytas castas, canas de assucar, ainda que disto pouco nos trouxerão; mas o de que mais fazem fundamento he de vacas, que são fermosissimas, & o mais manso gado que tenho visto em terra algũa; quando he o tempo de leyte se sustentão delle coalhando-o, & fazendo-o azedo, do que nõs gostavamos pouco. Comem tambem hũas raizes, que na feição se parecem com o trovisco, & dizem lhes dá muyta força, & assim ha outras que dão hũa semente miuda, que tambem nasce debayxo da terra, a qual comem com grande gosto, & a rezina das arvores, sem gastarem nenhuma fruta da que ha nos matos, em nenhum modo, o que nos foy a todos de muyta utilidade; porque com ella nos ajudamos a sustentar muytos dias, posto que não tem semelhança com nenhũa deste Reyno, nem com as que ha na India. Nos casamentos não trazem as molheres dotes, antes elles os dão a seus pays de vacas, & ellas são como suas cativas, & de seis, ou sete que elegem cada lua metem hũa em casa, sem que as moleste ciume algum, & atè as suas joyas são para elles, porque ellas só trazem suas peles melhores, ou peyores, conforme a possibilidade de seus maridos. As joyas são manilhas nos braços, & arrecadas nas orelhas, ou de cobre, ou de osso.

Postos pois em terra, como tenho dito, resgatamos algum milho, que ellas trazião as mãos cheas, & sinaley ao Padre Jeronymo Lobo, para que corresse com isto a troco, de algumas fechaduras, azelhas, & prègos de escritorio; & estavamos tam cortados da fome, por haver tres dias que não comiamos mais que hũa meya costa de biscouto, & ainda menos, que a cazo trouxe o Padre atado em hum toalha, repartindonolo que chegasse a todos, que eu me senti tão fraco, que me fuy a humas figueyras bravas, & me puz a comerlhe os cardos de dentro, que ainda que imitação às da India, & là usão os naturais este mantimento, não he nada saboroso.

Quando estes Alarves chegavão aonde nós estavamos, que era com as costas em hum mato, que nos servia assim de defensão do frio, como para elles quando nos quizessem acometer; em hum monte de area, que estava defronte, pregavão as azagayas primeyro que chegassem a nós, & dalli por acenos nos dizião, para que tinhamos as armas nas mãos, quando elles estavão com as suas postas de parte; & como nisto mostravão desconfiança, & o tempo era de cobrar amigos, eu me resolvi a me meter entre elles, largando a hum companheyro hũa espingarda que tinha, ficando-me com hũa pistola na cinta, & com hũa adaga, a primeyra cortezia que lhes fiz, foy pegarlhe pelas barbas, & esfregando-lhas muy bem, & logo sentarme entre elles, de que se mostrarão muy contentes, por entenderem ser eu o Capitão daquella gente, me davão grandes louvores, chamando-me na sua lingoa, Canansys, Molumgo, Muculo, Manimusa, que na nossa querem dizer grandes titulos.

Alli estivemos largas duas horas atè que se dividirão para varias partes. E mandando eu hum grumete com hum barril a buscar agoa a huma ribeyra que não estava longe, lhe sairão alguns do mato, & lho tomarão, & huma faca, dando-lhe algumas pescoçadas, tornando-se a embrenhar. E parecendo-me, que com lhe fazer hum negaça poderia satisfazer-me, matando algum, como que tambem julgava que me seguraria para passar aquella noyte, chamey hum marinheyro, que se não prezava de pouco valente, & com a sua espada na mão o mandey que fosse encher hum caldeyrão a ribeyra com o sentido nos alarves não lho tomassem; & eu me fuy nas suas costas com quatro espingardas em mãos de bons tiradores, & porque nos não vissem ficamos hum pouco atras encubertos com hum recanto que fazia a terra.

O marinheyro chegou, & como não vio ninguem poz a espada no chão, & o caldeyrão, & tirou-lhe a tapadoura para o encher de agoa decima de humas pedras; ficava pelo alto delle huma mouta, detras da qual estava acachado hum alarve que de subito se ergueo, & saltou mais ligeyro que hum galgo, donde o marinheyro estava, & lhe tomou o caldeyrão, & a tapadoura com acção tão repentina, que o deyxou tão assombrado que se não soube determinar; nós acodimos, & quando levamos as espingardas ao rosto já o negro, como hum passaro, hia por cima de humas serras, & posto que disparamos, não fizemos tiro certo, do que elles tomarão ousadia para nos acometerem à noyte, vendo que as nossas armas lhe não fazião dano, & eu não deyxey de ficar com cuydado, receando-me do que me succedeo.

Tanto que a noyte cerrou bem, tendo postas sentinelas aonde entendia que melhor convinha, todos com suas armas prestes para nos defendermos, estando com a mais gente metidos no mato que assima digo, aqueitando-nos ao fogo, gritavão arma, arma, a causa era que vinhão pela praya mais de trinta negros com grandes gritos, & dando muytos saltos de huma parte para a outra, a que acodimos logo esses poucos que estavamos, bem fracos, & debilitados, sem que eu consentisse que se fizesse tiro algum, senão quando lhe tivessemos as espingardas nas barrigas, porque ainda que recebessemos algũa zagayada se lhe matassemos hum par delles nos respeytarião mais; mas a gente, como mal disciplinada, sofria mal esta ordem, que a experiencia me havia ensinado quando militey na India com gente de mais razão do que esta era, & esperando primeyro conhecer o damno que lhe faziamos com nossas armas, & segundo elle nos cometião mais ou menos. E vendo huma das sentinelas, que ficava da parte donde elles vinhão, que não chegavão mais para avante, & que estavam de nós mais de menos de tiro de espingarda, levado de brio largou o lugar em que estava, & se foy caminhando para elles, eu o reprendi com palavras, & lhe dey de espaldeyradas tornando-o recolher a seu posto, conhecendo do intento dos barbaros, que não pretendião mais que sairmos-lhe à praya, que como elles erão ligeyrissimos facilmente nos desbaratarião. E estando assim quasi duas horas sem se querer chegar mais para diante, nem nós largarmos as costas do mato, donde em outros que estavam perto deste estavam emboscados muytos alarves, dando-nos sempre grandissimas coqueadas, vierão a declarar seu

intento, aprovando o meu, porque se espalharão, & nos cercarão em roda vindo muytos pelas costas, que era mato muy fechado, & por hũa serra abayxo por onde andavão tão livres, & soltos, como por campo razo, & quebrando o mato para poderem passar se vierão pòr em riba de hũa ribanceyra que nos fazia costas, & dahi nos atiravão com grandissimos penedos, & torrões acertando a muytos nas cabeças atè dos que estavão deytados por falta de saude, pelo que nos foy necessario apagar o fogo, para que com a sombra da noyte ficassemos mais encubertos, & não nos acertassem tanto.

Este assalto sentimos notavelmente, porque como não havia vinte & quatro horas que estavamos em terra, & ainda mal enxutos da agoa do mar, & muy consumidos do frio, & da fome, com a gente mais bem disposta, & com mais armas dividida, a qual por minha ordem havia hido pela manhã a donde a Náo encalhara, esperando que viesse à noyte, & como me faltava não deyxava de me dar grão molestia, assim para me ajudarem, como por saber o que lhe havia acontecido. Com tudo tratando de nossa defesa com a gente que tinha me deyxey estar com as centinelas nos mesmos postos, que erão na boca do mato da banda de fóra, donde se descobria a terra que me era necessaria, repartindo outra gente por onde elles vinhão, quebrando os paos para se meterem com nosco, que ainda que pouca estava com bom animo, & puz emcima de duas arvores duas pessoas com seus mosquetes, & a outra bem junto ao mato com pistolas, & espingardas, dando-lhe ordem que não disparassem, senão tendo-lhes as bocas nos peytos: eu corria todos os postos, porque não fiava a vigia de outrem; os alarves que continuavão com as pedradas para nos inquietarem, depois do fogo apagado acertarão menos, & chegando-se bem perto hum marinheyro a que chamavão Vicente de Sousa, & era o que estava emcima das arvores, nos estreou com hum bom tiro, com que logo deu no chão com hum alarve; nos então demos huma carga pequena, mas bastante, porque todos empregavão as balas, mayormente hum Castelhana, por nome Manoel Moreno, com que os negros afrouxarão alguma cousa, mas não que nos deyxassem sossegar em toda a noyte.

Como a nossa gente era pouca, & não tinha com quem mudar as postas, estavão todos bem cortados do frio, mas assim passamos atè a madrugada, ajudando-nos o Pádre Jeronymo Lobo, & o Padre Frey Antonio Capellão animosamente, & com alguma

gente que não estava para outra cousa, a enterrar huma fateyxa que havia escapado do batel, em quanto de madrugada determinava de marchar para onde estava a Náo, onde tinha mandado a outra gente, de que até então não tinha recado do que havia acontecido.

O Padre Jeronymo Lobo, como bem experimentado em trabalhos semelhantes quasi a estes no Prestes João, onde havia estado muytos annos, nos era grande caminheyro, & servia de grande alivio, posto que todos julgavamos, que por aquellas brenhas, & prayas desertas, não poderíamos sustentar a vida oyto dias mais ou menos, pois os perigos erão tão continuos, & a falta de tudo tão grande.

Tanto que a manhã veyo rompendo nos mudamos daquelle lugar, levando revezadamente às costas hum barril de polvora, com que mal podíamos; indo diante a gente mais fraca, & debilitada, & detras com as armas nas mãos os que para isso prestarão, & como a praya era em partes de area solta, & em outras coalhada de muytos seyxs, não podíamos marchar bem, mormente quem levava pezo, & assim nos conveyo enterrar a polvora no espesso de hum mato, parecendo-nos que ninguem nos via para a virmos buscar ao diante, o que depois fizemos, & achamos que no la tinham os alarves levado, que devia de servir-lhe de bem pouco.

Os negros como nos virão largar o sitio vierão até cem homens, & se meterão no mato aonde havíamos alojado, a roubar o que presumião lhes ficava, & assim nos não seguirão, que fora grande damno, porque com excessivo trabalho, & todos feytos pedaços, subimos huma serra até chegarmos aonde tivemos vista da Náo, & de alguma gente que já andava em terra, que logo nos veyo demandar com muyta alegria, porque o balão já hia, & vinha à Náo com mais confiança por se haver achado o canal do rio, que alguns tinham atravessado a nado, & nos trouxerão alguma cousa de comer, a que o gosto presente nos fazia perder a vontade, que tal he muytas vezes o effeyto de hum contentamento grande, que faz esquecer até dos meys de sustentar a vida.

Passando à outra banda do rio com toda a gente, & desembarcando os que estavam na Náo, huns em jangadas, outros no balão, começamos a tirar algum mantimento, & a fazer choupanas de paos, & palha, de que a terra he bem provida, formando hum arrayal, resguardado pela parte de terra com sua defensão, que nos cercava em roda feyta, com paos postos encima de algũas

pipas que sahirão à praya, tapando por bayxo com espinhos, que era o que por então o tempo nos permitia. Reparti a gente em tres esquadras para se vigiar de noyte, o que sempre se fazia com as armas no mão, situando o corpo de guarda no meyo do arrayal, donde recolhiamos o mantimento que se tirava da Náo, & mandey pòr hum sino, que a badaladas repartidas pelos quartos mostrava que as postas estavam espertas gritando humas às outras em alta voz, alerta o da vigia, começando o que guardava as armas, a que todos respondião, ficando eu satisfeyto que se vigiava a toda a hora, & os alarves advertidos tambem de que não dormiamos, pelo que vindo de noyte algumas vezes nunca nos ousarão de acometer vendo o nosso cuydado.

O balão tinha hum pouco apartado de nós, mas seguro de se nos quebrar na costa, porque estava no rio abrigado dos temporaes, tão ordinarios nesta costa, com tanto excesso aos das outras, que muytas vezes arrebetava o mar tão furioso, que nos parecia que havia Armadas fora que se desfazião com artelharia; tal era o estrondo naquellas ondas.

Dentro no balão dormião gurumetes com seus mosquetes, & hũa noyte vindo os negros para lhe cortarem o cabo que tinha em terra, sendo sentidos lhe tirarão duas mosquetadas, que no arrayal nos inquietarão muyto, & pondo a gente em arma, lhe dey ordem que em nenhũa maneyra largassem seus postos, antes delles se defendessem, em caso que fossem cometidos; & tomando eu dez homens, fuy acodir ao balão, cuja gente se animou muyto em ver o cuydado com que eu assistia a todos estes perigos, sendo o primeyro que me offerecia a passalos; os negros se meterão no mato, & assim servi eu só de animar aos do balão, encomendando-lhe a boa vigia, & me recolhi muy trespassado do grande frio.

Com mais algum descanço comecey a considerar o sitio da terra, os grandes arvoredos, & me resolvi comigo a fazer a embarcação com a commodidade do rio, dando-nos Deos vida, & este meu intento não quiz então descobrir nunca a pessoa algũa, mas fundando-me nesta tenção fiz diligencia, com que pouco a pouco se fossem pondo em terra alguns fardos de arroz, & alguns barris de pão, de peyxe, & de carne, ainda que disto muy pouco, & tudo com grande perigo, & trabalho, pelo grosso mar que sempre andava, que muytas vezes passarão tres dias que não havia lugar de ir à Náo aonde sempre estava gente, porque lá comião mais à sua vontade, posto que as noytes lho descontavão

com o temor grande que tinham, assim pelo muyto mar que vinha quebrar na Náo, como pelo muyto que rangia, porque se não sustentava mais que na fortaleza dos vaos, os quais erão somente os que a obrigavão a que senão espedaçasse de todo, porque o mar enchia, & vazava nella como em hũa canastra rota, de modo que o que ficava debayxo das cubertas de marè cheya estava tudo na agoa.

Nos primeyros dias fuy eu a Náo a buscar as vias de Sua Magestade que trouxe a este Reyno; & logo a polvora, balas, & corda, & as mais armas que já tinha embarrilado, como atras digo, o que fiz com notavel perigo, porque nos teve o mar sosobrado o balão, & não havia quem là quizesse ir, se eu não fora, chamando para este effeyto os marinheyros mais fortes para melhor remarem.

Tambem já tinha posto em terra toda a pedraria, ambar, almiscar, & pedras bazares, aljofar, que os officiaes tinham em seu poder, a quem dey ordem para o desembarcarem, & terem comsigo, atè o mandar registrar, & elles mesmos o entregarão em Angola quando là se depositou por ordem do Governador, & da junta da fazenda daquelle Reyno, como ao diante se dirà mais por extenso.

E continuando nestes primeyros dias com esta desembarcação, que só algũas manhãs nos permitia o tempo, fomos ajuntando em terra todo quanto arroz nos foy possivel, que veyo a ser seiscentos & quarenta fardos, que ainda que molhado, hum comiamos logo, & o mais enxugavamos, para o que fizemos huma tercena, onde se recolhia, tendo-o todo à sua conta o Padre Jeronymo Lobo para o repartir avizando-me do que era necessario.

Á praya vinhão alguns barris, em que se tinha metido assim roupa como peças, mas como da Náo se deytavão ao mar á discrição das ondas a mayor parte disto, se a marè vazava, hia ter a outras prayas donde se enchião de ricas cousas, posto que tudo podre, & molhado, & de nenhuma se aproveitavão aquelles alarves, senão só de quatro prègos se os achavão, o que eu lhe defendia como se forão diamantes, em razão de que se elles se abastassem disto com difficuldade nos resgatarião cousa alguma, que era o em que eu mais estribava, posto que atè então não tinham comunicação comnosco, mais que alguns miseraveis que vinhão mariscar aos mexilhões, a quem não faziamos damno.

Tudo isto succedeo atè dez de Julho, em que eu já tinha declarado o meu intento de fazer embarcação, que pela falta que havia de Carpinteyros lhe parecia a todos impossivel, & fallavão em marchar, movendo-os a isto, apparecer a caso entre elles o tratado da Náo S. João que trazião de rancho em rancho, do que eu me não dava por sabedor, ainda que os não deyxava de contradizer hum marinheyro dos que alli havia, por nome João Ribeyro de Lucena, que foy hum dos que escaparão daquella miseravel perdição, o qual como experimentado, alem de elle ser homem de boa razão, lhe propunha as grandes difficuldades que havia em caminhar por terra; com tudo havia tantas alterações, que eu mandey lançar hum bando, que toda a pessoa que quizesse marchar viesse dizermo, que eu lhe daria resgate para o caminho, porque a mim me seria mais facil fazer huma embarcação que duas, & haveria mister menos mantimento.

Este lanço uzey para conhecer os animos de todos (que depois me pezou bem, porque descobri Religiosos que seguião esta facção) tratando já mais de conservar a amisade de hum marinheyro, que a de seu Capitão, & amigo; & isto andava assim tão revoltó, que os que querião caminhar andavão fazendo gente, & ainda aquella que eu sabia que estava com animo de me acompanhar sempre, se deyxava persuadir, & atè os que eu tinha escolhido para a obra que determinava fazer de embarcação, por lhe achar mais geyto para cortar com hum machado.

Estando hũa manhã na praya com algũa gente, esperando o balão que sempre vinha com muyto perigo, & por bayxo do mar, & ao chegar a terra se metia a gente na agoa atè os peytos, hũs a telo mão, que não se fizesse em pedaços na praya, outros a desembarcar o arros, se vierão os que querião marchar a mim muy cortezes, & me derão hum rol, representandome que o havião feyto pelo bando que eu havia mandado deytar, o qual me entregavão para que eu ordenasse o que melhor fosse para salvação de todos, recolhendo eu o papel lhes disse, que o não queria ler, mas sómente saber se querião correr a fortuna que me esperava, pois atè aquelle tempo todos a haviamos passado, & que de crer era que eu que não tinha mais certeza da vida que cada hum delles, & que assim devia de trabalhar, porque todos nos salvassemos, mormente que elles excedião o modo que eu lhes concedia em fazerem gente, porque me desemquietavão atè os homens que eu tinha escolhido para me ajudarem na obra

dos navios, ainda que aquelle bando só o deytara para conhecer os animos, & brios com que elles estavam, & não para que desejasse apartalos de mim, porque estimava muyto aquella acção, de mais que os velhos, & doentes que havia, nem podião marchar com elles, nem a mim ajudarme. Todos me responderão com grande obediencia, & mostras de muyto amor, que a mim só conhecião por seu Capitão para me acompanharem sempre, & para me obedecerem, & que só não havião de reconhecer aos officiaes da Náo mais que a minha pessoa, que sómente os havia de mandar, a que disse, que como já não havia Náo não havia officiaes para os mandarem, mas que todavia lhes devião respeyto como mais velhos, mais experimentados, & como a pessoas que os havião governado, & lhes disse tambem, que a nossa perdição se havia de differençar das outras em tudo, porque entre nós não havia de haver senão muyta conformidade, & amizade, para que assim nos fizesse nosso Senhor mercè, & que se tratassemos de outra cousa todos nos perderíamos, comendonos, & matandonos hũs aos outros, que eu da minha parte lhes prometia não haver morte algũa, antes os ajudaria como atè então tinham visto, sendo o primeyro que me arriscava aos perigos, que os trabalhos todos os passavamos igualmente, sem me differençar delles em cousa algũa.

Nesta conformidade ficamos todos quietos, & eu resolutu na minha obra, comunicando com o Mestre como homem de tanta experiencia, o modo de navios que devia fabricar com mais officiaes, & com Manoel Fernandes em que assima falo, que já andava melhorado da cahida que fez pela escotilha da Náo, em que eu tinha todas minhas esperanças, pois só elle era o Carpintheyro que nos havia ajudado, & ao presente com bom animo se deliberava ao fazer, nos fomos todos a hũa praya de area, & nella fizemos á forma dos navios, a modo de barcos Sevilhanos de sessenta palmos de quilha, dez de roda á proa, nove de pontal, & vinte de boca, & feytas de taboas as fórmas das cavernas mestras, em hum Sabbado vinte de Julho fomos a hum mato, & em nome de nossa Senhora da Natividade benzemos as arvores, fazendo-lhe todos voto de que se nos trouxesse a salvamento a qualquer porto da outra banda do Cabo de boa Esperança, de lhe vendermos o navio, & o procedido delle trazelo a este Reyno para as Freyras de Santa Martha aonde está a sua Imagem, & com isto fuy eu o primeyro que com hum machado cortei na

arvore, & logo os mais que a puzerão no chão, começando esta obra, impossivel a todos, com só tres machados de serviço, hũa serra, & dous Carpinteyros, convem a saber, Manoel Fernandes que o era excellente, & hum grumetè do Carpinteyro da viagem da Náo, que apenas sabia deytar hũa linha; mas com bom animo, & grande confiança em nossa Senhora escolhemos hum pao seco, que havia sahido á praya da Náo, & junto ao rio em lugar conveniente, & desviado donde então tinhamos o arrayal, armamos a quilha, & depois de posta sobre os picadeyros todos descalços, viemos em procissão desde o arrayal, rezando as Ladainhas de nossa Senhora, & benzendo-a o Padre Capelão lhe puzemos por nome nossa Senhora da Natividade, sendo este acto celebrado com muyta devoção, & lagrimas.

Tratey logo de me mudar donde estava para onde se fazião os navios, onde mandey fazer casa para ferraria, & tomey bastante lugar para as madeyras que cortavamos nos matos, fazendo huma ribeyra como a das naos deste Reyno, cujo campo me custou muyto trabalho àlimpar, cortando, & queymando muytas arvores pàra que nos não ficassem matos entre nòs, em que se emboscassem os negros, elegi lugar para minha morada em hum pequeno monte, de que todos fugirão por haverem visto nelle algũas cobras, ficando a ribeyra defronte, & nas costas o rio, tudo isto consegui com os escravos que havia, ajudandome tal vez algum grumete.

El porque o mais essencial nos faltava, que era lugar em que se celebrasse o culto Divino, o Padre Jeronymo Lobo tomou à sua conta o fazer da Igreja, para o que escolhemos o melhor lugar que a elle lhe pareceo, & dando-lhe os marinheyros que mostravão mais devoção, tendo cortados paos bastantes fabricou huma Igreja muyto bem feyta.

El tras disto mandey tambem fazer hũa casa, a que chamavamos Bengaçal, que he nome da India, aonde se recolhe o mantimento, & se fazia o corpo de guarda, por ser no meyo do arrayal, onde debayxo de chave que tinha o Padre Jeronymo Lobo se recolhia todo o que tinhamos, & por sua mão se comia, & assim forão em ranchos fazendo cada hum sua palhota onde melhor lhe pareceo, mas dentro no limite que lhe sinaley.

Mandey juntamente fazer casas para se serrar, & lançar as madeyras, defendidas do Sol, & da chuva, & posto tudo neste estado advertimos, que nos faltava os folles para a ferraria, &

que sem elles era impossivel seguir a obra principiada, o que não deyxou de me molestar, mas como nada occulta a industria de homens necessitados, & principalmente illustrados por Deos, por quẽ esta obra foy guiada, engenhamos hũs das taboas do fundo de hum cayxão de Angelim, as pelles de hum couro do sinde, & os canos de dous mosquetes que se cortárão, a bigorna para se malhar traçamos de hum garlindeo metido no chão, com o pé para cima, que ficou perfeytissimo, & fizemos alcarevis, tenazes as que forão necessarias, & martelos pequenos, que para grandes nos serviamos de quatro marrões que haviamos tirado da Náo.

E porque a gente ainda neste tempo trabalhava como se acertava, para mayor comodidade, & menos confusão fiz que se repartissem, escolhendo o Carpinteyro quatro pessoas para o ajudarem na obra dos navios, o Guardião oyto para cortar, & a tirar as arvores, que o Carpinteyro da viagem apontava, & para braços, cavernas, enchimentos, & taboado, que só para isto servia, & outros para as arrastarem para fóra, ã as vezes era de muyto longe, outros para as desbastarem, porque ficassem mais leves para se trazerẽ para a ribeyra dos navios, outros serravão taboado, para o que tinhamos feyto hum cavallo, & outros andavão no balão, que sempre era necessario, porque hum dia si, outro não hia buscar agoa a huma fonte que descobrimos no meyo do rio ao pé da serra da banda do mar, sem a qual nos não podiamos sustentar, porque a agua que havia de hũa lagoa era muy peçonhenta, por beberem nella todo o genero de feras, que havia naquelles matos, & se a continuarmos ouveramos de perecer. Esta gente a que se occupava em hũa cousa não tinha obrigação de acodir a outra, & os da ribeyra só trabalhavão sempre aturadamente desde amanhecer ate bem tarde, por lhe não faltar nunca obra; o Mestre, Piloto Manoel Neto, & Domingos Lopes passageiros, tambem muyto bõs Pilotos, ajudavão na ribeyra a sobir, & a ter mão nas madeyras para as lavrarem, & por sua curiosidade vinhão algũs tambem a fazelo. Quando escolhi este lugar para esta fabrica todo o achamos seguido de pisadas de cavallos marinhos, de bufaros, & de outras feras, mas com a continuação da gente veyo a estar tudo tão limpo como o terreiro do Paço desta Cidade. Aos officiaes que achey entre nos de alfayates, & çapateyros destiney para que não entendessem em outra cousa, & assim hũs fazião só vestidos, & os outros só alparcas das pelles

dos fardos, com que nos remediavamos para a frieldade do clima, & para a aspereza da terra.

Tudo assim disposto fomos continuando a nossa obra ao principio muyto vagarosa; porque a todos havia parecido impossivel fazer dous navios em tão breve tempo, dando por razão, que neste Reyno quando se começava a fazer hũa barca de carreyra com os Carpinteyros, & materiaes necessarios, que armando-se em hum verão sempre acabavão no outro, & que tam-bem tinhamo por impossivel o poderem os navios sahir pela barra, assim pelas muytas voltas que havião de dar, como porque correndo a agoa muy teza era força encalhar nos bayxos que de todas as partes havia, & quando isto se vencesse com dobrar o Cabo em embarcações tão pequenas, & tão carregadas de gente, que não he o melhor lastro, porque toda vay em boca, parecia perigo certo; mas confiado eu em nossa Senhora fiz que por tudo se atropelasse, porque se nos dêsse depois mayores louvores vencendo os trabalhos que não venceo a Náo S. João, que deyxou de fazer embarcações por recear que as não pudesse botar ao mar em razão dos muytos bayxos, & grandes resacas, & se expòr ás grandes miserias de caminhar por terras de alarves, que os curiosos poderão ver no seu naufragio, & julgar qual foy melhor discurso.

Depois de haver estado em terra quinze dias, por investigar melhor os contornos daquella em que nos puzera nossa fortuna, me meti no balão com doze homens com suas espingardas, & me fuy pelo rio acima, para descobrir se havia algum gado; porque em caso que nolo não quizessem resgatar o tomassemos para nos sustentarmos, pois não tinhamos carne salgada de consideração, & juntamente, porque tinha vindo a vernos hum negro com hum novillo, & não o quiz resgatar, supposto que lhe davamos duas manilhas de latão por elle, que como tinhamos sómente seis, & era nos primeyros dias não quiz alargarme a mais, por não pòr o resgate em preço de cousas que não possuhiamos, & indo quasi tres legoas pelo rio acima, que todo he muy limpo, & muy aprasivel, vimos que já alli corria agoa doce, muytas povoações, & ao longo delle varias sementes de milho, abobaras, & feyjões, & fomos tambem vendo muyta quantidade de gado vacuum, dividido pelos montes, o qual como nos divizavão hião recolhendo para dentro do certão; nòs que levavamos prègos, os demos a algũs negros que chamamos, & por entre o mato nos seguião ao longo

da agua, a que mal entendiamos, porque o nosso lingoa, que era outro negro de Moçambique, só algumas palavras lhe entendia, & assim sem concluir resgate de vacas, nem de milho, nos voltamos traçando mandar gente de madrugada, ou á noyte a emboscada no mato, & tomarmos lhe cem vacas, ou as que pudessemos, & pagarilhas se quizessem, & recolhernos com esta preza, ainda que a pouca noticia que tinhamos da terra nos representava algũas difficuldades, que eu estava resolutto atropelar por matarmos a fome, & vindonos recolhendo já á boca da noyte para o arrayal, achamos defronte delle da outra banda do rio, hum Rey negro, acompanhado de sua gente, & com sete vacas ferosissimas para nos resgatar, que como nosso Senhor se quiz lombrar de nossas miserias foy servido de que chegassem as novas, que estavam Portuguezes naquellas prayas, a hum cabra, em que falla no seu Itinerario Francisco Vaz de Almada, o qual se havia perdido na Náo S. Alberto havia mais de quarenta annos, que foy no naufragio de Nuno Velho Pereyra; este sendo menino se ficou naquelles matos, & pelo discurso do tempo se veyo a casar, & estava muyto rico, & tinha tres mulheres, & muytos filhos, & sabendo que alli estavamos nos começou a creditar com aquelles alarves, dizendo, que além de sermos gente muyto valerosa eramos seus parentes, que nos trouxessem muytas vacas, porque tinhamos grandes riquezas, & tudo lhe haviamos de comprar bem, & vindo elle com este Rey, começou a gritar, Portuguezes, Portuguezes, & como estavamos longe entendemos que era algum Portuguez que ficára alli de algũas das perdições passadas; com grande alvoroço cheguey com o balão aonde elles estavam, & o cabra com palavras mal distintas em nossa lingoa se explicava como podia, & assim a troncos lhe entendi algumas cousas, & vindo o Rey dentro ao balão a verme, a sua gente me furtou hum copo de prata, que achando-se menos me queyxeo ao Rey dizendo-lhe que estranhava muyto, que vindome elle buscar, & a solicitar nossa amizade me furtasse a sua gente o que eu tinha, porque já agora mal podia eu fiarme delles, com o que logo entre si pelejarão, & depois de muytas gritas appareceo o copo; & porque a noyte era já serrada os deyxey no mesmo lugar além do rio, & me recolhi para a nossa estancia, mandando-lhe cozer arros, & hum pouco de melaço que se achou no fundo de hum boyão, & lho enviey, com que fizerão grandes estremos, porque o Rey enchia a palma da mão delle, em que hum untava

hum dedo, & logo vinha outro, & tocava outro dedo, no que havia tido o doce, & deste modo corrião todos, & chupavão os dedos fazendo grande espanto de cousa tão saborosa.

Ao outro dia pela manhã mandey o balão para que elles passassem à outra parte a ver o nosso arrayal, & as nossas riquezas, & assim os obrigar melhor a que nos facilitassem resgate com a sua cobiça, o que o Rey fez com muyta authoridade, calçando logo as alparcas que trazia na mão com grande sizo, & com o rosto muyto inteeyro; eu mandey tomar as armas, mas não quizerão que os salvassemos com a mosquetaria, & assim lhe mostrey miudamente a nossa estancia, & a casa dos mantimentos, aonde sentando-se lhe lancey ao pescoço, na sua estimação, huma joya muyto rica, que constava de huma campainha que o Padre Jeronymo Lobo tinha prestes com hum cordão de retros, & assim lhe dey mais hum pedaço de latão; & sestejando o Rey negro nesta forma, voltey com elle, & fomos à outra banda com nossas armas, a resgatar as vacas, que forão as primeyras que tivemos, mas logo dentro de oyto dias nos vierão mais por ordem deste mesmo Cabra, a quem chamavão Antonio, que tal vez ficava em nossa companhia huma, & duas somanas, trazendo-nos depois seus filhos, & amigos, que todos festejavamos, dando-lhes pedaços de cobre muy bem arcados, que tinhamos feyto dos caldeyrões, que erão peças de preço que mais estimavão.

Este resgate estava só na minha mão, & do Padre Jeronymo Lobo, que com elle resgatava o que nos trazião, havendo-se nisto estremadissimamente, & fez nos nosso Senhor tanta mercè, que tendo eu ordenado, que só matassemos ao Sabbado hũa vaca, se puzerão as cousas de modo, que cada dia matavamos tres, e viemos a resgatar em todo o tempo que alli estivemos duzentas & dezanove, muytas dellas prenhes, que depois de parirem nos derão bastante leyte, com o que se cozia o arros, para todo este gado fizemos hum curral com oyto pastores, que repartidos pela somana o levavão a pastar pelos montes, sem haver quem lhe fizesse agravo, posto que nos primeyros dias os mandey com armas de fogo.

Entrou o mez de Agosto, & porque a paragem junto do rio era melhor, & mais comoda mudey o arrayal velho para ella, & para prevenirme de tudo o que pudesse para a fabrica dos Navios, fuy pondo em terra hum barril de cebo, meyo de alcatrão, hũas pessas de cabo, a caldeyra de cozer o breu, desanove pães de beyjoim,

algun fio, algumas cotonias, & huns quarteis de vellas que estavam por acabar, que tudo isto tinha deyxado encima.

E porque não pareça que me esqueço da Náo, & de contar o fim que teve, refirirey o que lhe succedeo, & foy, que aos dezassete dias depois della encalhar, indo a bordo a gente do balão, a ver se se podia trazer mais algum arros, ou fosse que fizerão lume no fogão, para algũa cousa, ou que ficando algum bico de vella por esquecimento, que com a pressa de embarcar ninguem olhava mais que para as ondas que arrebetavão no costado, com que sempre se hia, & vinha com muyto risco, foy ou a vella consumindo-se, ou a braza ateando-se nas madeyras breadas, de sorte que chegando ao quarto da modorra gritarão as vigias, fogo no Náo, & como ventava muyto fez logo hum incendio tam grande, que não só começou a artilharia a disparar, mas em breve tempo ardeo atè o lume dagoa, & he tal a providencia de Deos, que a não ser este successo, mal poderíamos fabricar os Navios, porque doutro modo nunca poderíamos tirar prègo algum, a respeyto de que a Náo estava já quasi toda deytada, & em nenhũa maneyra se podia cortar cousa de que nos aproveytassemos, & com este incendio vierão muytos quarteis a terra, que supposto que nos custarão grande trabalho a queymar, & a desmanchar, trazião em si muyta pregadura, que concertada na ferraria nos servio.

Alojados pois no arrayal novo se começou a trabalhar com muyta preça, tendo posto atè quinze de Agosto as cavernas mestras, o coral de proa, & sinco cavernas mais no Navio Nossa Senhora da Natividade; mandey armar outro, a quem puz nome Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem, porque já a gente tinha mais modo no cortar que ao principio, ensinando-os o trabalho continuo, de maneyra, que em Angola ficarão muytos ganhando o seu jornal como qualquer Carpinteyro; neste ultimo Navio mandey que se trabalhasse com mais frequencia, por desterrar algumas sospeytas de quem imaginava, que eu fazia Navio só para meus apaniguados, & deyxando-os a elles naquelles matos, que não he menos temeraria, & cavilosa a malicia dos homens.

Por entre todo este trabalho nunca os Padres Religiosos se descuydavão de celebrar as festas dos Santos, antes não passou nenhũa, em que armando a Igreja com muytas flores não ouvesse Missa, prègação, muytas confissões, & comunhões, para o que vindo a faltarnos Hostias se fez hum ferro muyto bem feyto, &

em varias partes se puzerão muytas Cruzes, onde feytos Altares se lhe ordenavão festas, em que se dava premios a quem melhor os armasse, como direy ao diante, entendendo pelas mercès que recebiamos de Deos nosso Senhor, que aceytava muyto os sacrificios que lhe faziamos naquellas terras tam barbaras, pois sempre foy servido de nos dar precizamente tudo o de que necessitavamos, parecendo-nos muytas vezes, que em nenhũa maneyra algũas cousas se podião fazer, nem alcançar, & as effeytuavamos todas, recorrendo a sua infinita misericordia.

Com a communicacão de Antonio, aquelle Cabra que se dava por nosso amigo, se nos forão facilitando as cousas muyto, porque vendo os demais negros, que todas as vezes que vinha sempre levava, ou cobre, ou algũa cousa de comer; desejavão muytos a nossa amizade, & assim começarão a visitarme vindo em sua companhia, & com vacas para resgatar, & vinhão pessoas de mais conta que sempre trazião mais cafres, ao entrar, & render dos quartos de vigia, lhe mandava disparar os mosquetes, com que nos viemos a fazer tam respeytados como nos convinha para nossa segurança, & assim já mandava dez, & doze homens com espingardas oyto, & dez legoas a resgatar gado, do que Antonio se veyo a resentir, porque nisto perdia o que furtava quando o hia fazer, ainda que já estava bem aproveytado, mas com tudo tratou de atalhar este modo de resgatar, metendo em cabeça aos negros que nos não dessem gado, nem leyte, porque não só lhe haviamos de enfeytiçar, o que lhe ficasse, mas que lhe havia de morrer tudo; mas estavamos nòs já com tanto credito na terra, que se huns nos não querião, outros nos rogavão, mormente que tinhamos hum Cafre, que tambem havia vindo com Antonio, & perdido juntamente na Náo São João, que ainda que casado deyxou a mulher, & a todos, & se veyo para mim, que logo mandey vestir ao nosso modo, & se confessou por ser muy ladino, & nos servia com muyta fidelidade; este nos descobria o que o Cabra Antonio intentava fazer em nosso dano, por saber bem a lingoa da terra, & assim ainda que pouco a pouco se foy afastando de nòs nos não fez nenhũa falta, além de que já tinhamos muyto gado.

Succedeo, que vindo-me ver hum Rey, a quem todos tinhão em conta de homem belicoso, & valente (porque entre si esta gente todos trazem sempre guerra), & acompanhado de muyta gente; estavão huns corvos na praya, & que mandey hum mari-

nheyro que fossè como a caso, & metesse hũa mão chea de dados no mosquete, por não errar tiro, & matasse hum corvo, os Cafres puzerão logo o sentido nelle, & tomando ponto derribou hum com dous pelouros, que por mais bizzarria não quiz usar de dados, o que vendo os Cafres ficarão assombrados, & se he que trazião algũa malicia a perderão, & tomando-o na mão olhárão a ferida, metendo o dedo na boca, que he a seu modo de encarecer, & mostrando com outras acções, que antes nos querião ter por amigos, do que ternos por contrarios, & vezinhos.

Passados algũs dias, em que este negro assistio com nosco, se nos afogou, querendo ir colher fruta á outra banda do rio, sem apparecer mais, por grandes diligencias que fiz, buscando-o não só por todos aquelles matos, mas atè em sua propria casa, & nos disserão hũs alarves, que tinham visto o corpo morto do negro na outra praya dalem do rio, o que sentimos muyto, por nos ser muy fiel, & muy boa guia para tudo o que queriamos.

No principio em quanto não andamos com muyta segurança desta gente, aconteceo, que vindo hũs poucos á outra banda, onde estavam alguns paos que a marè tinha lançado na praya, os queymárão, & levárão os prègos, ainda que tratamos de lho impedir, & sendo da outra banda do rio, não era possivel acodir là sempre; & huma menhãa que estavam na praya huns grumetes, lhe tirarão desta parte algumas arcabuzadas, que huma dellas derribou logo hum negro, & cahio entre humas pedras, o qual mandey logo que o fossem buscar, que estava gritando aos outros que lhe acodissem, porque o haviamos de comer, mas eu o tratey bem, curando-o de hũa perna que tinha passada, & em poucos dias sarou da ferida, mas ficou coixo, porque se le quebrou a cana, & com huns poucos de pregos que lhe lancey ao pescoço o inviey para os seus, a fim de que publicasse aquelle beneficio, & nos acodissem com o que tivessem, porque assim o dissemos a este quando se foy, o qual nunca mais tornou, porque he gente muy desagradecida, & antes se quer tratada por mal, que por amor.

E viemos a ter tanta communicacão, que pela opinião que de nòs tinham me pedião, que lhes mandasse chover por lhes faltar agoa para as suas sementeyras, & vendo eu os Ceos grossos, & bayxos lhes disse, que atè o outro dia choveria, & succedeo do mesmo modo, com que se confirmarão em que tinhamos poder para ordenar cousas semelhantes, & ainda outras mayores. E dahi a alguns dias mandando a minha gente a resgatar às suas terras

estava o tempo carregado, & porque se lhe não molhassem as armas disserão a hum Rey, que lhe dèsse hũa casa onde se recolhessem aquella noyte, por se não molharem, a que o alarve Rey respondeo, que pois nòs mandavamos chover quando queriamos, que agora mandassemos tambem não chover para nos não molharmos, mas não faltou quem respondesse, que não era aquella causa muyto urgente para semelhante mandamento, & assim tinhamos tanta opinião com elles, que outro Rey q̃ havia muytos annos tinha huma fistola em hũa perna se veyo tambem a mim para que o curasse, prometendo-me muytas vacas se se serrasse, ao qual puz hum pouco de azeyte de coco, & dahi a dous dias o mandey pòr da outra banda do rio para onde tinha sua morada, dizendo-lhe, que se dahi a tantas luas se não achasse são, tornasse, o que fiz por ser este o tempo em que nòs esperavamos ternos nosso Senhor feyto mercè de nos dar passagem pela barra fóra, ou havermos marchado pela terra dentro; com estas traças nos fomos sustentando o tempo desta nossa perigrinação, no qual já tinhamos ajuntando nove barris de encenso, que achavamos pela praya, o que todo se recolheo em casas particulares que tinhamos separadas para cada cousa; de maneyra, que a polvora tinhamos em hũa, a enxarcea, que erão pedaços de cabo, em outra, & os mantimentos em outra, tudo bem cuberto, por se não molhar.

E assim nos animava muyto ver (que supposto que trabalhavamos com grande cuydado) crecia a obra de modo que julgavamos, que mais que mãos de homens assistião nella, ainda que não faltavão difficuldades, que todas se vencião com minha presença, sempre continua em todas as partes em que se trabalhava; que ainda que importava a todos tudo era necessario, porque atè aqui gastavão alguns o tempo em pleytos sobre algum godorim molhado, ou cousa semelhante, porque qualquer, em tanta necessidade, julgavão por de grande valia, no que me molestavão, porque desejando de os ter contentes a todos, sentia tirar de huns para dar a outros, & queria governalos sempre com a quietação, & amor com que o hia fazendo, mas muytas vezes os não podia acomodar sem uzar de algum rigor, para o que tinha hum trouco de pao, em que tambem metia os que faltavão a seu trabalho, tirando-lhe a razão quotidiana, & andava tudo tam a ponto, temerosos de que eu passasse avante no castigo, que ninguem se empenhava em cousa de consideração.

Em hũa tarde de Novembro, em que eu havia hido à outra banda do rio a descobrir hũas prayas por me dizerem que era melhor sitio, que o em que estava, veyo hum negro avizar ao Mestre, que vira tres cavallo marinhos deytados em hum mato, & acodindo elle là com a gente toda com seus mosquetes, & lanças, vierão estes animaes tomando o caminho para outro Riacho que nos ficava a hum lado, & dous delles poderão passar por entre muytas ballas, & o mesmo era darem-lhe, que em huma muralha, mas huma que acertou entre a junta ao longo da espadoa fez que hum delles cahisse, onde o acabarão de matar. He este animal mais grosso do corpo, que tres grandes touros, com os pès, & mãos muy curtos, em tanto, que os alarves fazem covas nos caminhos por onde costumão andar, & as cobrem por cima sutilmente, & como algum cae com pès, ou com mãos, se não pòde mais sahir, & alli os matão para os comerem como nòs, que nos souberão a muy bons capoens sevados; a pelle he tão dura, que hum pelouro de mosquete a não passa, antes cae amassada no chão, mas pela barriga he mais delgada, tem todos huma estrela branca na testa, as orelhas pequenas, & como de cavallo, a cabeça muy disforme, porque tem huma boca grandissima, com huns beyços virados para fóra, que deve de pezar cada hum mais de arroba, & vão comer ao mato como qualquer outra fera; & com este monstro entretivemos aquella tarde, & ao outro dia nos deu trabalho em o mandar deytar em outra praya distante daquella, pela mã vizinhança, & roim cheyro que causava, de mais de que tambem como esperavamos hospedes, determinava agazalhalos com tão boa iguaria, & assim não tardarão muyto, nem nòs em festejalos, offerecendo-lha, de que elles comerão com notavel gosto, roendo os couros, & puxando por elles, de que tambem fizerão tassalhos que levarão comsigo.

Os Padres fazião as festas dos Santos cujas regras professavão, como em dia de S. Francisco o Padre Frey Antonio Capellão, & o Padre Frey Francisco Capucho armando muy bem a Igreja, ajudando eu no que era necessario, & o Padre Jeronymo Lobo, por eu ser muy devoto de S. Francisco Xavier, ordenou que festejassemos o seu dia com muyta ventagem, para o que muyto de antemão se estudou huma comedia, & muytos entremezes, & fiz huma praça fechada, para na sua vespora correremos touros, o que tudo se fez bem, & no seu dia àtarde ouve muytos emblemas, & inigmas, com premios que se derão a quem os explicou, com o

que se alegravão todos notavelmente, & assim era necessario para se animarem os que estavam expostos a passar tantos trabalhos.

Tendo já o navio de Nossa Senhora da Natividade calefatado, & forrado, & breado por fóra com beyjoim, & encenso, ordeney deytalo ao mar antes do Natal, para nas outras agoas, que erão a oyto, ou dez de Janeyro, lançar o outro, como tudo se fez, estando isto à conta do Mestre Miguel Jorge, que tudo dispoz muyto bem, & com grande acordo, & com fabricas de muytos aparelhos metidos de beyxa mar na borda do rio onde laboravão os cabos que estavam atados nos outros que puchavão pelos cachorros sobre que vinhão a ser como a envazadura, com que neste Reyno se deytão as Nãos ao mar, encebando a grande com o cebo das vacas, de que estavamos muyto bem providos.

Postos os navios no rio ambos atè dez dias do mez de Janeyro, o Mestre Miguel Jorge lhe meteo dentro o lastro conveniente, & para os emmastrear os chegou para debayxo de hũas penhas, que nos servirão de cabria, onde receberão os mastros com tanta ordem, & tanto em sua conta, como se fora no rio de Lisboa, com toda amaquina que se requiere.

Antes disto já tinha mandado fazer estopa dos pedaços dos cabos das arrotaduras dos mastros da Náo, & ordenando hũa cordoaria, o Mestre fazia os cabos que havia mister de mais, ou de menos fios, havendo guardado hũs pedaços da drissa da proa, que destrocidos nos servio para amarras.

Tambem ordenamos ancoras de pao, a que na India chamão chinas, quatro para cada navio, com o que emmastreado, & de todo aparelhado o navio Nossa Senhora da Natividade, o levamos à outra banda do rio à sombra de hũa serra amarrando-o em terra às arvores, & no rio com as fateyxas de pao, pelo assegurarmos das grandes correntes que alli hà em agoas vivas, em tanto que se concertava o outro de mastros; & repartida a gente que havia de ir em cadaqual delles, forão acodindo à sua embarcação para a aprestarem, & posto que havia nomeado para Mestre do outro a hum marinheyro por nome Antonio Alvares, o Mestre da Náo Miguel Jorge encaminhava tudo, porque só de sua experiencia se podião fiar semelhantes cousas.

O Tanoeyro ajuntando muyto de antemão todas as aduelas que achavamos pelas prayas, tinha feyto pipas, quartos, & barris,

entre todos vinte & sete peças para cada navio, fóra as de que nos serviamos para bebermos de ordinario, & vimes que achamos nos matos se fizerão arcos, remediandonos tambem com os velhos, o que tudo se encheo de agoa quando partimos, & ainda nos não bastou, porque como era louça velha, entrecozida do Sol, & da agoa salgada muyta se foy com haver estado muytos dias de antes chea de agoa salgada ao longo da praya, que nenhũa das cousas que se fazem neste Reyno para a viagem da India nos faltou que senão fizesse, que no que eu me não lembrava supria o acordo dos bons officiaes, & mais companheyros que comigo tinha.

Neste tempo, que pouco mais, ou menos serião meado Janeyro, succedeo, que indo hũas negras da India a hum rio a se lavarem, que ficava junto de hum mato, vierão dantre elles dous alarves, & como as virão sós por lhe tomarem hum pucaro de cobre, que huma dellas tinha na mão, & por defendelo recebeo huma grande ferida na cabeça, & acodindo a demais gente, senão pode tomar por então nenhũa satisfação, porque logo fogirão, & se embrenharão; & porque hum negro meu me havia fogido pela terra dentro, onde esteve quasi dous mezes recolhido em casa de hum Rey que nos ficava perto de nós, da mesma parte do rio, & eu havia mandado fazer diligencia para saber se havia aparecido, & aqui neste mesmo lugar me havião furtado outro caldeyrão a huns negros fogidos, que já todos assim o meu, como os outros, accosados da fome se havião vindo para nós, mandey dez homens com suas espingardas a pedirem satisfação destes furtos, & para verem se tambem estava já o milho maduro, para o tomarmos por força, ou resgatarmos por vontade para nossa viagem, porque tudo era necessario, & o Rey alarve como se vio convencido dos furtos que a sua gente havia feyto dizia ao lingoa, que os nossos levavão (que tambem era outro alarve que nos servia) que daria algumas vacas, o que não concluhia, antes se vinhão ajuntando muytos Cafres, que elle mandava chamar com dissimulação, o que vendo hum marinheyro, a quem chamavão Manoel de Andrade, se veyo recolhendo com os mais, & levantando o cão da espingarda matou logo o Rey, ao que acodirão os seus ás azagayadas, & em boa ordem se vierão retirando quasi hũa legoa, em que matarão mais alguns, & entre elles hum negro de tanta conta, que ficando pasmados não passarão mais avante, com intento de lhe virem tomar o passo de hum rio, que era o

caminho para o nosso arrayal, & havendo de sobir hũa ladeyra muyto estreyta, & ingrime, lhe largarão de cima muytas, & grandes pedras, com que os ouverão de fazer em pedaços, mas tendo elles lugar de se tornarem a pòr no largo, por não estarem muy empenhados na ladeyra, tomárão alguns outro caminho que os alarves não virão, senão quando estiverão junto delles, & logo fugirão ficando o caminho livre para chegarem ao nosso arrayal com muytas azagayas que lhe tomarão.

E porque me parece que alivio aos que lerem este naufragio com este successo, contarey hum galantissimo que tivemos com hum cavallo marinho no rio, em que não faltão, & foy que indo o balão com doze homens com suas armas de fogo por elle acima a deytar a gente em terra, para virem resgatando pelo certão, que isto uzavamos pela não cansar tanto, & o balão se vinha recolhendo para o que fosse necessario, achárão hūs cavallos marinhos junto á terra, & em parte donde senão podião meter por ella dentro, por ser hũa serra muyto ingrime; & como o balão estava da parte do rio, ficarão elles com tão pequeno lugar muy apertados, a gente começou-lhe dar a carga dos mosquetes, & hũa daquellas feras que mostrava ser mãy de outra pequena que trazia junto a si, se arremeçou ao balão, & com os dentes lhe levou hum remo, & o tollete em que vay metido, & tudo fez em pedaços, tratando de se meter dentro; os nossos se derão por perdidos de cousa tão inopinada, & o animal se meteo por bayxo do balão, tratando de o querer virar, mas com os remos se forão os nossos desviando, escramentados para não entenderem mais com semelhantes féras.

E tornando aos nossos Navios, & a toda nossa esperança, pois nelles só estribavamos remediar as vidas tão arriscadas por aquellas prayas, tinhamos já o a que puzemos nome, Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem, enxarceado, & com lastro, & assim o levamos tambem para onde estava o outro, & em quanto este se aparelhou por não perdermos tempo, tinha eu encomendado a Simão Gonçalves o fazer da aguada no navio Nossa Senhora da Natividade, que toda a pressa convinha, por serem já vinte de Janeyro, & não haver arros mais que oitenta fardos, que guardava para a viagem, que vaca não faltava; estando embarcado o necessario, que era ametade de tudo o que havia no navio em que eu vinha, que erão quarenta fardos de arros, vinte & sete pipas de agoa, que ametade della se foy, dez barris de polvora de dous

almudes, & para cada pessoa hũa perna de vaca, que feyta em tassalhos, & cozida em agoa salgada, & posta ao Sol era o que cada hum havia feyto para sua matalotagem, sendo a gente que se embarcava comigo todos os officiaes da Náo, o Padre Jeronymo Lobo, Frey Antonio Capellão, Frey Antonio, Religioso da Ordem de São Domingos, que todos com os escravos fizeram numero de cento & trinta & sinco pessoas, entrando dez escravas que estavam fechadas à proa debayxo de hũa escotilha, onde mal se podião recolher.

No outro navio hião mais duas pessoas que neste, convem a saber, Estacio de Azevedo Coutinho, que elegi por Capitão delle, para melhor se poder acomodar com sua molher D. Isabel de Abranches, & nove escravas & dous Religiosos, hum Capucho, & outro de Santo Agostinho, por Piloto Manoel Neto, que vinha na Náo por passageyro, que por todas fazião cento & trinta & sete pessoas.

Nestes dias mandey fazer hum assento pelo Escrivão da Náo no livro de Sua Magestade, em que fiz registar toda a fazenda de mão que no arrayal havia que se tinha salvado, & os officiaes guardarão em seu poder, fechados os boyões, & os bizalhos mutrados com suas marcas, sem haver falta em cousa algũa, por segurar assim não só os direytos reais, mas tambem por se manifestar o que vinha em confiança, & não registado, que devião de ser as duas partes; feyto isto, com muyta verdade, se embarcou tudo no navio em que eu vinha, no qual nomeey por Piloto a Domingos Lopes, que como na India andava costumado a navegar em navios pequenos, me pareceo convinha mais que o da Náo, que tem differente conto.

Embarcando comigo as vias de Sua Magestade, & tudo o mais, hum Sabbado de nossa Senhora, a quem tenho particular devoção, vinte & seis de Janeyro, determiney sahir, & não pude por ser já a marè gastada, nem ao Domingo, porque tambem o vento nos não favoreceo para o poder fazer, & a gente com estas dilações começou a lançar varios juizos, cousa muy ordinaria no povo; & á segunda feyra me meti no balão com os Pilotos, & fomos ver o canal, onde tinhamos deytado nossas boyas para balizas, onde havia mais agoa, & depois de tudo bem conhecido, posto que havia muyta mareta, animados com hum pouco de terral que ventava, me resolvi a dezamarrar o meu navio, atoando-me o balão, & com remos, & varas, que tinhamos tambem feyto para

o ter mão que não encostasse, viemos com as esperanças em Deos, & fiado na Virgem da Natividade, atè chegar ao bayxo em que o navio deu muytas pancadas, & ficou em seco, mas como o mar de quando em quando vinha mais grosso, & o levantava as varas, & remos, & o vento, foy a Senhora servida de ouvir nossos clamores, & nos poz em dez palmos, & em doze, & logo em muyto fundo: daqui mandey ao balão que fosse dar toa ao outro, que como era melhor de vela do que este, sahio brevemente; porem alentados em que tinhamos vencido esta difficuldade, ainda que ninguem julgou nunca chegar ao que então viamos, que era estar em navio á vela, ou traves em demanda do Cabo de Boa Esperança; do que todos me davão grandes louvores, & particulares agradecimentos, por eu ser só o que havia instado no fazer dous navios, & por entre tantos impossiveis posto que naquella perfeçção, mas este animo lhe durou pouco, porque vindo com tempo claro, & bom vento Levante correndo a terra para o Cabo de Boa Esperança, trazendo o balão á toa, pelas quatro da tarde appareceo hum peyxe, a que chamamos orelhão, & sempre que se vè se segue logo borrasca, & assim nos aconteeo, porque saltou de improviso o vento a Noroeste com muytos trovoens, & logo ao Oeste, & tornamos a voltar para dentro vendo-nos aqui no mayor perigo de todos os que tinhamos passado, em que a Virgem da Natividade obrou grandes milagres, porque chegamos a estado de nos confessarmos publicamente; porque a furia do tempo não permittia que se fizesse com mais vagar, julgando cada momento que nos sorvetiamos, porque se hum mar depois de cobrir todo o navio passava, o outro que logo se seguia apoz elle, parece que queria acabar connosco de hũa vez, tendo já alijado ao mar toda essa miseria que traziamos, & houve muytos que ficárão só com a camisa do corpo, porque o mais tudo havia ido com a cama ao mar, & atè do arros que tinhamos para mantimento lançamos grande parte. Passado o tempo tornamos acometer para o Cabo de Boa Esperança, mas a experimentar outra vez novas tormentas, & forão de maneyra, que como a culpa daquelles trabalhos era toda minha, por não haver querido caminhar por terra me vi muy perseguido, & quebrantado, porque ainda os Religiosos me dizião alguma cousa sobre a materia.

Na segunda noyte que estava no mar se apartou o outro navio de mim, & ainda que depois passamos mais avante donde haviamos estado, o não encontramos, no que recebi grande pena,

porque me alentava muyto a sua companhia, & o gosto de nos salvarmos todos era o a que eu mais aspirava.

Nestes transe andando sempre à vista da terra gastey vinte & dous dias, não sendo mais distancia do rio da praya, donde havia sahido a dobrar o Cabo de Boa Esperança, que cento & setenta legoas, & por fogirmos ao mar, & não perdermos o caminho que tinhamos vencido, viemos surgir dentro da Bahia dalagoa, & para nos sairmos della numa volta, & noutra, ouve imaginarse que o não poderíamos fazer nem saltando o vento a Leste, & a Lesnordeste hũa legoa ao mar desta Bahia, aonde a carta sinala hum bayxo, o qual he de area, & tinha em si mais lobos marinhos do que ha passaros na Ilha de Fernão de Noronha, o qual vi muyto bem, porque o fomos correndo de longo, com notavel perigo, por ser todo pela banda do mar cheyo de arrecifes, que não vimos senão depois de estar entre elles, sem ter outro remedio, mais que aclamar pela Virgem da Natividade, que milagrosamente nos livrou, sustentando o mar que entre o arrecife andava muy empolado por ventar Oeste tormentoso, & tendo-o mão, que de hũa parte, & outra parte era como duas montanhas, & qualquer delles que quebrava no navio, que não podia arribar para nenhum dos lados, por irmos seguindo hum pequeno canal que hum marinheyro decima do mastro nos hia dizendo aonde mostrava mais agoas, sem duvida alli fora o fim de nossos trabalhos, & ultima miseria; mas livrando-nos a Senhora assim desta, como de outras muytas tormentas, lhe davamos infinitas graças, porque hum Náo muy possante mal poderia sofrer o que nós esperavamos, andando o miseravel barco mais por bayxo do mar, do que por cima, porque vinha a ser no convès pouco mais de hum palmo o que levantava sobre a agoa.

Nestes vinte & dous dias passamos grandissimos trabalhos, pois não só erão os das tormentas, mas os de não comerem muytos cousa alguma de fogo, & a gente sobre mal vestida andar toda molhada, por não ter outro abrigo mais que o do Ceo, nem aonde repousar hum breve espaço, porque tudo cobria o mar, & não podiamos abrir a escotilha para se tirar o mantimento, porque por ella nos não alagassemos, & hũa bomba de roda que traziamos continuamente davamos a ella, & foy a nossa salvação; & ouve homem do mar muy expriimentado em varias tormentas, & trabalhos, que estes julgou pelos mayores, estando outros tão entregues à morte, que sem sentido deytados passava o mar por

cima delles como pela mesma cuberta, mas sempre com a esperança em Deos: resolutto em passar estes infortunios me determiney a dobrar o Cabo, ou acabar na demanda; & foy elle servido, que em hum dia de Fevereyro, que fazia a lua chea, nos tomou já da outra banda havendo-o passado em hũa noyte, demos infinitas graças a sua muyta Misericordia, & à sua bemditissima Mãy por mercè tão sinalada, pois então, julgavamos todos, que começavamos a renacer, no que não terey duvida em toda a vida.

Antes que passassemos o Cabo determinavamos de tomar a aguada do Saldanha, para ver se podiamos resgatar alguns carneyros, & fazer agoa, porque fica no rosto do Cabo da banda de fóra, donde os temporaes não tem tanta força; mas como este posto he muy frequentado de Olandezes, & nos pareceo que dalli a Angola tinhamos jornada breve, quiz antes passar por novas necessidades, que não arriscarme a ser cativo de inimigos, & pòr em perigo as vias de Sua Magestade, & a fazenda de mão que trazia, & assim prosegui meu caminho com mais descanso pela falta das tormentas; & fazendo-me ao mar viemos ver outra vez terra antes do Cabo negro, que ficamos dezassete grãos do Sol, a qual não largamos mais de vista, & a fomos correndo de longo, com tenção de tomar Bengela para nos refazermos de mantimento, & agoa, de que vinhamos muy necessitados, & enchendo a altura em que fica esta Fortaleza a fomos buscar já quasi Sol posto, & por anoytecer não podemos ver o porto, pondo o navio a trinqua para de menhãa a tomarmos, mas as agoas, & os ventos nos levarão tanto para o mar, que quando amanheceo não se podia conhecer, nem divisar o que estava em terra, com que ficamos desconsoladissimos, & mortos de fome, que o não poder tomar aquella fortaleza nola acrescentava mais; & parece que quiz Deos desviarnos della para nos dilatar a vida, porque depois chegando a Angola soubemos, que de quantos navios alli forão morreo quasi toda a gente de sete, oytto dias, & dizem os moradores daquella Cidade, que em qualquer tempo que o navio que vem de mar em fóra toma Bengela para valer-se de mantimento, & agoa, que he o effeyto para que alli vão, se se detem alguns dias, ou morrem todos, ou o vem fazer a Angola.

Chegado quasi a oytto grãos & meyo, que he a altura de Angola vimos à boca da noyte, & bem junto a terra, hũa embarcação, que julgamos ser Olandeza; & como a noyte serrou escura, a ardentia do mar nos figurava serem mais, & que fazião fuzis

humas às outras, como entre si costumão, pelo que ouve pareceres que fossemos na volta de Loeste, o que eu não consenti, por me parecer que seria melhor morrer pelejando em breve tempo, que acabar à fome em mais dilatados dias; amanheceo, & não vimos mais que hũa embarcação que hia correndo tambem a costa quasi duas legoas diante de nós, & aparelhandonos com as armas que levavamos para a abalroar se pudessemos, ella neste tempo virou para nós tratando cada qual de ganhar abalravento, o que a outra fez por ser navio grande, & aguardar mais pela bolina, & se foy afastando de nós distancia grande, no que mostrou julgarnos por Cossario, & que fugia de nos; devia de ser isto tanto avante como à Cidade de Loanda do Reyno de Angola, o qual não podiamos ver, porque o Sol que sahia por cima da terra nos de tinha a vista, não se fazendo ninguem ainda tanto avante, antes dizião, que huns montes que appareião era aonde estava o porto; acalmou o terreno, & entrando a viração largamos a vela para a parte onde se imaginava ficar a cidade, & o Piloto não tomou aquelle dia Sol, presumindo estarem já nossos trabalhos acabados, mas átarde como nos chegamos mais se receou que tinha discorrido o porto, & surgindo aquella noyte bastantemente desconsolados, porque havia muyto pouco que comer, & menos que beber, & era o que mais se sentia, porque já o Sol nos abrazava com grandissima quentura atè que amanheceo, & tornamos a velejar, indo ainda para avante assim, porque parecia impossivel haver andado tanto caminho como porque alguns marinheyros que havião estado em Angola affirmavão que se não podia passar sem se ver a Cidade, & os navios que costumão estar junto á Ilha, que he terra muy bayxa: & ainda ao outro dia houve pessoas que vião a Cidade, & outros sinaes, ficando-nos tudo já atras. Aquelle dia se não pode segurar o Sol por andar muy cuberto, nem acabavamos de chegar á Cidade tão desejada, em que tornamos a surgir por não largar a costa; & porque tambem ao pôr do Sol se acabava o vento, que nos sorvia: o dia seguinte tornamos a seguir nosso caminho muy tristes, & vimos huma embarcação, & por mais sinaes que lhe fizemos, & arribamos a ella, nunca quiz chegar a nós; mas tomando o Piloto o Sol se achou em pouco mais de seis graos, o que poz a todos em desesperação, pois no fim de tantas misérias tinhamos descorrido o porto, & parecia impossivel o tornalo a alcançar senão em muytos dias, porque como os ventos alli são geraes, se não he em hum bordo, & outro mal se pòde

tornar atras, & ir na volta do mar, em tempo em que já senão comia mais senão huma mão chea de arroz, & menos de quartilho de agua, era grande afflicção ; mas permitio a Virgem da Natividade, que trazia este navio á sua conta, que não tivessemos ido mais avante que seis, ou sete legoas da boca de hum rio, a que os naturaes chamão o espantoso Zayre, que corre com tanto impeto que cincoenta legoas ao mar se toma agoa doce, & nos levára em vinte & quatro horas onde de fome, & sede pereceramos sem ficar pessoa para contar deste transe, & juntamente quiz sua piedade, & infinita clemencia rematar nossas miserias com huma das mais sinaladas mercès que nos fez em todo este discurso de afflicções, dando-nos huma trovoadá nunca sucedida naquella paragem, com a qual em dous dias viemos surgir na boca do rio Bengo hum Sabbado vespora de Ramos, havendo quarenta & oyto que sahiramos do rio da praya.

Cheguey logo defronte de Angola, & mandando ao Governador huma carta que trazia feyta, porque determinava encalhar, & avizar por terra, em como estava alli com as vias de S. Magestade, & mais fazenda de mão, porque para marchar havia muytas difficuldades, & a principal não haver gota de agoa q̃ beber, nem cousa algũa que comer, & ignoravamos se a terra era de amigos, a que o Governador respondeo acodindo cuydadosamente com agoa, & mantimento, o que sobre tudo festejamos, por haver dous dias que nada disto gastavamos, & postos em terra, o Governador com a junta da fazenda assentou que a pedraria se depositasse no Collegio da Companhia de Jesu em hum cayxão de tres chaves, & que ficasse huma na mão do Padre Reytor do mesmo Collegio, outra na do Bispo de Congo, & Angola, & outra na do Provedor da Fazenda, o que se executou pelo registro que eu havia mandado fazer no livro de Sua Magestade estando presente o Governador, Bispo, & Feytor, & o Escrivão da feytoria, & cada official dos da Náo entregou por este modo o que trazia em seu poder, os Boyões fechados com suas marcas, & numeros, & os bizalhos mutrados, sem haver faltado cousa alguma da minha parte, porque com toda a inteyreza, & pontualidade Sua Magestade tivesse seus direytos Reaes.

O Governador Francisco de Vasconcelos da Cunha tratou de acodir logo à miseria da gente, mandando-lhe dar hum quartel, & o Bispo D. Francisco de Soveral fez grandissimas esmolás, vestindo a mayor parte daquelles necessitados que vinhão nús, &

tendo em sua casa outros de mais qualidade, como tão santo, & virtuoso Prelado, que he de que a mim tambem me coube algũa parte, porque o Governador inteyrado de necessidade em que eu vinha me fez mercè de oytocentos cruzados de ajuda de custo para me poder aprestar para este Reyno, aonde em poucos mezes antes imaginava verme com perto de quarenta mil cruzados, como he notorio à gente da minha Náo.

Daqui me aprestou o Governador huma caravela, em que a cinco de Mayo parti para a Bahia, onde cheguey em vinte & seis dias, trazendo comigo as vias de Sua Magestade, & as do Governador de Angola, em que dava conta desta fazenda pelo modo referido; nesta passagem trouxe tambem em minha companhia o Mestre, o Piloto, o Guardião, o Escrivão, o Estrinqueyro, & vinte tantos homens de mar, porque huns forão pelo rio de Janeyro, outros por Cartagena, & outros ficarão em Angola.

Da Bahia como não achey armada me ordenou o Governador Pedro da Sylva escolhesse huma de tres embarcações que estavam carregando para fazerem viagem a este Reyno; & sahindo para fóra em onze de Julho demos no quarto de madorra com tres Náos Olandezas, tão perto que se nos virão primeyro nenhuma das embarcações escapara, & assim todos tiverão tempo de virar na volta que lhe pareceo; & a caravela em que eu vinha o fez tão venturosamente, que quando amanheceo estavamos mais de tiro de bombarda afastados delles por balravento, não aparecendo mais que huma das embarcações da nossa conserva, que escolhendo outro rumo brevemente a perdemos tambem de vista: & proseguindo nossa viagem sessenta legoas desta Costa no quarto dalva vimos outra Náo que nos ficava por balravento, mas tão perto, que julgando-nos por sua, nos não quiz atirar peça, antes largando bandeyra de coadra se veyo a nós, estando já como a tiro de mosquete, & arribando nós enfiamos com ella, de sorte que pouco receavamos a sua artelharia, & largando todo o pano que tinhamos lhe escapamos venturosamente, & com prospera viagem em quarenta & oyto dias chegamos dia de Santo Agostinho a surgir em Peniche, parecendo-nos que já achassemos neste Reyno alguma das embarcações que partirão comnosco, mas atè o presente não hà novas dellas, no que Deos me quiz confirmar as grandes mercès que em todo discurso deste naufragio me fez, trazendo-me a Portugal não só ajudando-me a

passar tormentas tão terriveis, & perigos tão certos, mas livrando-me dos muytos inimigos que hoje cursão todos estes mares.

As vias de Sua Magestade entreguey a Francisco de Lucena por ordem da Senhora Princesa, & em sua propria mão as do Governador de Angola do registro da fazenda que là ficon, diligencia que eu fiz, levado assim do proveyto que havia de resultar aos direytos reais, como da segurança em que punha esta fazenda, porque como todos nos viamos perdidos, a gente de mar se alborotava, dizendo que o proveyto não querião que fosse só dos officiaes que a trazião, senão de todos em gèral, pois todos igualmente trabalharão na salvação della, & em sua defesa; & assim, que a mandasse repartir, para o que me fizerão muytos requerimentos, & petições, sem querer muytas vezes trabalhar atè com effeyto se lhe dar a cada hum o que pretendia; o que eu atropelando tudo pelo melhor modo que me foy possivel, persuadindo-os com que daquelle trabalho haviamos de ter todos a terça parte, fiz o que tenho referido; no que agora vejo, que muytos delles antevião o pouco agradecimento que seus donos mostram neste Reyno a tão grande beneficio, querendo reputar este naufragio, como em Costas de Espanha, ou de amigos, sendo que o menor transe foy o de dar à Costa; pois se considerarem os muytos porque passamos, entenderão que lhe dèmos de novo esta fazenda, o que eu espero que reconheção todos; & assim os Ministros de Sua Magestade Catholica, para o premio da que lhe soube acrescer á sua fazenda, pois os impossiveis que venci em tão breve tempo, não são tão novos que se vissem ategora, que em tam pouco, & tão faltos do necessario para tudo, & em terras de Alarves, se fabricassem dous navios, & nelles se passassem tão successivos, & tão immensos trabalhos, como os com que cheguey ao Reyno de Angola, a que Deos me trouxe.

LAUS DEO.

WRECK

OF THE SHIP *NOSSA SENHORA DE BELEM*

ON THE COAST OF NATAL, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, AND VARIOUS
ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN JOSEPH DE CABREYRA, WHO
SAILED IN HER FOR INDIA IN THE YEAR 1633
AS ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET, UNTIL HE
REACHED THIS KINGDOM.

WRITTEN BY

THE SAID JOSEPH DE CABREYRA.

DEDICATED TO DIOGO SOARES,
OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL, AND HIS SECRETARY OF STATE
IN MADRID.

WITH ALL THE NECESSARY LICENSES.

LISBON,

BY LOURENÇO CRAESBEECK, PRINTER TO THE KING.

1636.

WRECK

OF THE SHIP *NOSSA SENHORA DE BELEM* ON THE COAST OF
NATAL, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, IN THE YEAR 1635.

WE left Lisbon harbour for India on the 6th of March 1633, in a squadron of three ships, of which Antonio de Saldanha was chief captain, I filling the office of admiral in the ship *Nossa Senhora de Belem*, the finest, best built, and largest ship that ever sailed in this service, and arrived safely at Goa on the 19th of August of the same year.

After unloading the ships we set about repairing them, especially mine, which stood most in need thereof, because it had lain at anchor and wintered in this kingdom. Circumstances had arisen which obliged this ship to remain in India that she might be better repaired, which was accomplished as far as was necessary by the feast of the apostle Saint Matthias, the 24th of February 1635, when the count of Linhares, viceroy of that State, came to see the ships weigh anchor, encouraging the officers in their work both by his assistance and his liberality towards them, no small share of which fell to those on board my ship, for he gave the master, Miguel Jorge the Greek, a diamond ring of great value which he took from his own hand, and he also took a gold key-guard from his neck and gave it to the pilot. The two ships having set sail, I saw by the working of mine that God wished to give me warning of the sad fate which awaited us, for the prow veered in the direction of the shores of Bardes, showing that it was better to remain there than to continue the voyage begun, for often even inanimate objects dumbly prophesy future events. Disregarding these presages and putting the ship upon the right course, which was done with great difficulty, we pursued our voyage; but I was not without great anxiety on account of what had occurred and the dread which troubled me, the ship having been stranded twice, though

after she struck the first time she had been well repaired, which was necessary, for she broke more than forty floor timbers and braces, and they cut down the masts in order to get her off the shoal. After being careened she was remasted in the river of Goa with great difficulty, the masts being very heavy, because they were larger than those we took from the kingdom and because the wood of which they were made is heavier than Flemish pine.

In going out of the harbour to complete our preparations and take in the cargo of pepper and other merchandise, the ship struck again upon a bank formed by the bar, where she remained while the tide ebbed. When the tide was full she was got off again by cables carried out to sea and worked by the capstans, and tow-lines from the ships of the fleet hauled by hand, all of which was necessary, for the ship was a mountain of wood and already masted. The keel thumped frequently before she was got afloat, and when she was at anchor in the harbour she was again careened by order of the viceroy, who assisted in all these labours with the greatest care, his presence alone enabling us to overcome the many difficulties which arose. It was found that the only damage was that the stern-post had started from the keel.

The thought of all these things increased my fear and made me look closely to the staying and clumsy action of the ship when first she weighed her anchor; and in this fear, combatted by the hope that God would bring us safely to our destination, I continued my voyage. In a few days I was beset by fresh cares, because of the few seamen I had with me, for there were not more than a hundred and forty-five men, including the officers, most of whom were sick and weak, and the others scarcely convalescent from the illness they had endured in Goa. It was necessary to keep the slaves, who were very few, at the pumps all night, in order to spare the seamen for greater necessities, for considering the number required on a ship, and that which I took from this kingdom, namely, two hundred seamen, I was exceedingly short of men, and even those I had were sick, as I have said.

Being very anxious on account of the quantity of water in the ship, I asked the caulkers whence it came, and they replied that it was the water we had taken in for our voyage. Not being

satisfied with this report, I remained all one night at the pumps until the whole of the water was discharged, in order to ascertain what good fortune I had or what evil I had to expect. But the next day I found water in the pumps again, and from that time all the negroes came on deck every day and laboured at the pumps, which threw out quantities of water. This was a great grief to me, for whether it was water from the pipes or a leak in the ship, of two doubtful evils one must certainly prove true: either the fresh water must fail to sustain us during our voyage or the salt water increase and prevent us accomplishing it with the success we all desired. I concealed my affliction from every one in order not to discourage them, though from these causes our miserable end was generally prophesied.

In this anxiety I continued my voyage, always carrying less sail than the other ship in order not to part company with her, according to the order contained in his Majesty's instructions. On reaching 5° south latitude, between the shoals called the Seven Sisters and those of Pedro dos Banhos, such a heavy storm of rain came on one night that it carried away the main-sail, though it was clewed up and well under shelter of the fore-sail. In this emergency we began to feel our lack of men, both on account of their small number and their weakness, for they set about attending to this, as was necessary, with great difficulty, in spite of the diligence of the officers in pushing the work forward. As we reached a higher latitude the fury of the weather carried away other sails, so that our hardships grew with our fears, and the water in the ship increased to render these more pressing, for this is one of the greatest terrors of navigation, rendering everything impossible.

Almost in this same latitude I was separated from the other ship, which steered a different course, and if she made me the signals appointed by his Majesty's instructions I did not see them, although we kept good watch and the ships were not very far apart. I continued on the same course until morning, and found myself alone, but the commodore, resuming his former course, which was that which our navigation required, we joined company again, and aided by the favourable south-east winds which sprang up, on the first of May in the morning we reached the island of Diogo Rodrigues, which is in 20° south latitude. We sailed along it joyfully, both because we had navigated so

well and because it was to us a landmark in the way, leading us to believe that in a few days we would be delivered from the dangers which attend the passing of the Cape of Good Hope, if the same wind should continue.

But the commodore always steered out to sea, increasing the latitude until we reached 34° , as my pilots found when they measured the altitude of the sun. Here the wind changed to north-west and west-north-west, which winds are the worst enemies that await ships in this region. The storms increased, returning repeatedly with such force that knowing the defects of my ship I approached the commodore and said that I would steer towards the land, not only because the dictates of reason demanded it, but also because it was in accordance with the rules of the ancient pilots, and with good cause, for in such a high latitude so far out at sea the danger is always more certain and remedies more impossible, while near the shore the ships find better shelter, and in April and May, the winds then blowing east and north-east, it is better to steer towards land near the Cape, in latitude 31° and 32° , and not go so far out to sea in search of tempests, especially as the land offers a more ready refuge from the misfortunes of this navigation. Therefore both the ships followed this course for eight days before we came in sight of the first land of that coast, which I take to be between latitude 32° and 33° , where, contrary to what is usual in that monsoon, the storms were so violent and continuous that it seemed as if each would put an end to us once for all.

It was worthy of note that whenever there was a spell of clear weather and we threw our nets into the sea to catch some fish, which in this region must surely be the best in the whole world, a fresh storm immediately arose, so that often with the fish still between our teeth we had to attend to the sails; and we looked upon this small relief of fishing as a certain sign of a storm, but even at such a penalty we counted it a piece of luck. A state of misery has this advantage that even a small relief is held a source of great contentment.

At this time the ship from continual pumping was in great want of chains, pump-boxes, and iron band-buckets for the wheel pump, for the ordinary pumps did not work, being in bad repair when we left India, the fault of the caulker of the voyage,

who was engaged at Goa instead of the one I took from this kingdom, who remained on shore very ill; and this one was sick also, as well as his assistant. In India, in the hurry of embarking, he thought more of getting four packets of cinnamon on board than of what was required for the pumps, and the ship's master, who might have supplied these deficiencies, was also dangerously ill and for many days before sailing was unable to come on board and see to what was required for so long a voyage. Thus all these things increased our troubles, and it seemed that from the time we left Goa we were on our way to destruction.

In order to attempt every remedy I approached the other ship and asked for some chains and pump-gear, also that they would lend me other things that I required and a caulker and carpenter. On the day I thus made known my necessities the sea was very high and rough, and I was only able to speak to those in the ship. Two days afterwards they bade me put out the boat, and they would give me what I required. This answer was equivalent to a curt refusal without mercy, for it was impossible to launch the boat, as it was uncaulked and very leaky, and one of the requirements asked for was a caulker. If I was short of men to manage the sails, how much more were they necessary to make the boat ready and launch it; besides which the davit of the largest was broken and there was not one able to make another, for the ship's carpenter was not only old, but also very ill, and his assistant was in the same condition.

Having lost all hope of help from the other ship by their answer, and because the fury of the weather afforded no opportunity, necessity, the teacher and discoverer of resources, led me to avail myself of what was in the ship, and I ordered all the rings fixed on the outside of the bows and those under the gallery, from which the men suspend themselves when the helm or prow is to be repaired, to be wrenched off, and these were put into the fire and made into chains and dippers, and thus I repaired the pump as well as I could.

The first morning the weather permitted I sent the caulkers, ill as they were, with several men to help them, outside the ship to see if any of the oakum had worked out of the seams under the chain plates fore or aft, for the ship laboured much in rolling and the shrouds worked loose in those parts very

dangerously; and all the defects discovered were repaired as well as possible. Thinking that the ship leaked only in those parts, from that time whenever a storm arose, as soon as it was calm I sent trustworthy persons into the hold and between the decks to ascertain if they could hear or discover any water; but they never found any except what leaked through the planking, the decks being much shaken and the sides gaping widely, the seams having opened in many places through the rolling of the ship.

As the labour continually increased I divided the crew into three bands. The boatswain's mate, Belchior Dias, with the ship's boys not only filled his own office but also that of caulker, assisting with great care and diligence in making the dippers and chains for the wheel-pump, which often failed us, the chain breaking because it was so heavy. The boatswain with the sailors also punctually took his turn, and likewise Simão Gonçalves Franco, the ship's steward, with the passengers and several artillerymen who were in the best state of health for the work, to which, in this order, all attended with the greatest vigilance and readiness.

We were now entering the month of June, which is the depth of winter upon that coast, as we found to our cost from the fierce hurricanes and tempests we endured. Two days before the feast of Saint Anthony there arose a storm so violent that it filled us all with dismay, and giving us no respite another arose on the night of the feast so severe that the commodore was left behind me, running out to sea, and I continued sailing under the courses with my watchlight burning, according to his Majesty's orders; but in the morning I could not see the other ship, and never saw her again until the day I ran ashore.

The pilots reckoned that we were near the bay of São Bras, but the fury of the winds and the rolling of the ship prevented us from using the pumps, of which there was only one chain-pump and the wheel pump, and we attempted every means of repairing them, even wishing to take them out and put in some old ones that were in the ship, but we could never succeed in doing so because of the weather, and the only one that worked was badly repaired and was of little use to us.

Therefore considering the straits we were in, that the ship lacked everything necessary for our preservation, that we were

overwhelmed with miseries, and that the storms increased every moment, as if longing to engulf us, I began to think of the last resource in use at sea in such cases, ordering baling tubs to be made ready on the deck, thus preparing for events which I foresaw. As the men were so few and the labour so great, when they were employed in one thing they were lacking for another; but nevertheless a number of barrels were prepared for baling tubs, and it was not long before they were required. The passengers and negroes worked at this with great zeal, Simão Gonçalves always assisting and giving much victuals to strengthen and encourage both the negroes and those who assisted them.

Though our afflictions were so heavy we still had great hope that God our Lord would send us a favourable wind, with which to continue our voyage and double the Cape of Good Hope, so stormy and fatal to navigators. But the tempests never ceased for more than five or six hours, during which the waves ran so high that they were the greatest danger of all, because the rolling of the ship in the cross seas caused her to leak still more. Therefore I assembled all the officers, the most skilful seamen, and other persons, with all the religious that were on board, and the king's notary being present I bade them consider the present state and the region in which so many miseries had come upon us; and having laid the case before them, I called upon them to declare according to their consciences what they thought best to be done to save the ship, his Majesty's pepper, and all else on board. The notary having administered the oath to each upon the holy gospels, they all agreed that the ship was not in a fit state to attempt to pass the Cape of Good Hope, and that it would be better to put back to Mozambique if we could reach it. But the master, being the most experienced, was of opinion that the ship could not reach the head of the island of Madagascar, because of the north-east winds which in that latitude are very often continuous and stormy, and would make it necessary for the ship to keep tacking, for which she was not fit, and therefore he thought we should run along the coast and put in at the first port we should come to.

The notary having entered this decision in his Majesty's book, we were all grieved and very disconsolate, for not only

was it two years and three months since we left Lisbon harbour, but our present voyage had lasted five months since our departure for Portugal, and we found ourselves in the midst of hardships with a greater certainty of death than of ever being able to reach this desired kingdom, the reward and coveted resting place of all those who undertake this lengthy navigation. Things being in this state, the storms, differing little one from the other, never ceased. The principal leaks being in the upper part of the ship, the water coming from above soaked into the bales of pepper, and gradually forced itself through some openings into the hold, increasing sometimes to such an extent that we all gave ourselves up for lost. The want of hands, who did not suffice to work at the pumps and baling tubs, obliged even the women to help; and all were discouraged and weakened, not only by the tempests which left us no peace, but also by the intense cold which benumbed us, and by so many sleepless nights. However, while life remains hope never fails, and after placing ours in God, we trusted to our exertions as the only remedy in our many necessities; therefore the people relieved each other in order to get some rest, everyone attending punctually to his duty.

As I was not yet convinced that all the water came from above, I ordered one of my sailors, Manuel Fernandes by name,—the only one who could help us, being a good carpenter, for the ship's carpenter and his assistant never left their berths, one being very old and both being sick,—to go below and make the strictest search for a leak, that we might repair it. One night when the weather was very rough he found the ship open at the stem, and it was like lattice work, so that when she pitched the timbers crashed together and a stream of water rushed in with a dreadful sound. If we had abandoned the pumps and baling tubs for one turn we must have gone to the bottom, and even as it was the water increased until it seemed that we had only a short interval of life in our hands, which we anxiously laboured to preserve with the utmost exertions.

In spite of all, I ordered the ship's master, the boatswain's mate, and some others, to see if it were possible to stop the leak in that part, and they, knowing that therein lies the chief strength of a ship, upon which all her frame depends, were very discouraged, but never ceased their efforts to find a remedy

whenever the weather allowed us a moment's respite. It happened for our sins that I went down to where they were working the baling tubs, and it was like a picture of hell with the shouts and confusion of the workers, the noise of the water rushing in, and the heavy rolling which threw everything from side to side, so that no one could stand up even by holding on. I sent for Manuel Fernandes that I might see for myself what could be done, and as he was coming down through the hatch-way where the first baling tub was, the sudden rolling of the ship threw him down into the hold. It pleased God, who preserved him for our service, as will appear hereafter, that he should not strike any of the beams which were in the hatch-way of the lower deck where the tubs were filled, like those used in a well worked by a water-wheel to keep the earthenware buckets from striking against the sides; but he fell into the water, which was more than ten spans in depth, heavily, and rose to the surface bruised and with all his joints nearly dislocated.

Upon this I well nigh lost all hope of human help, confiding solely in the aid of heaven, for there was no one else to assist me in the carpentering with so much skill and good will; and whereas in these ships there are usually some of this and other trades among the seamen, we left India with only one, Thomé Fernandes, who had fallen overboard in a faint, having gone on deck after he had been bled several times.

That no resource might be neglected we had prepared a sail that when the weather permitted we might fasten it under the prow to see if it would keep out the water; but there was never an opportunity, and the bales of pepper gradually burst open and choked up the pumps, a fearful sign in so much misery, and an omen which foretold our almost certain doom.

At this time the caulker died suddenly of inflammation, caused by many immersions in icy cold water, and this roused us all to prepare to render an account for our sins to God, confessing ourselves and performing other Catholic exercises.

The storms never ceased nor allowed us four hours unbroken rest, and our sufferings increased as the last miseries of shipwreck drew nearer. I stood on deck with all the men that they might work more quickly, for the pumps were now failing us. One was manned by Eustacio de Azevedo Coutinho, with his slaves. Even his wife, Dona Isabel da Branches, with a stout

heart offered her soft hands to assist in this hard labour. The other was worked in turns by Simão Gonçalves and the boatswain's mate, who always showed the utmost zeal, while I was continually occupied with the baling tubs. They shouted to me from above to send some sailors to brace the yard of the storm-sail and prevent the ship from broaching to,—for now she obeyed the helm with difficulty, the whole of her prow being deep in the water,—lest the seas should strike her abeam and shatter her to pieces. Though there were men at the braces they were not sufficient when the waves increased, and every time I sent others, when they returned to the tubs there were two or three more spans of water in the stern and four times as much in the prow.

During these intervals the pumps became completely choked, and we could only work at the baling tubs with great difficulty, because of the quantity of pepper in the water. For this reason I did not interrupt the work to lighten the ship, a usual resource in such straits, and also because she was so lightly laden that the water in her only made up for the weight which was wanting. And had she been laden as the ships from India usually are, we must inevitably have foundered many days before. However, had it been necessary to throw the cargo overboard to lighten the ship, I could not have done so, for it would have taken all hands and wasted time, which was what I was most anxious to spare. Only those who know what a ship from India with a cargo between the decks is, will be able to judge how impossible it was for us to lighten her with so few men and so much to attend to.

Such imminent peril warned me to prepare for what was to be expected, and therefore I ordered some negroes who were too small to help with the pump, with the cooper and master-at-arms, to bring up muskets, balls, defensive armour, powder, and other ammunition, which I had put into watertight pipes and barrels, with some rice, all of which we afterwards found of service.

To complete our distress, a little after the feast of Saint John the pepper became caked upon the surface of the water, and though some pushed it aside with poles and others ladled it out, not four barrels of water came up at every turn, and even that was half pepper.

Here let every unprejudiced person or those who have been in similar shipwrecks consider what our condition must have been, with death staring us in the face, and no hope in sight but the great mercy of God; upon which we took the most holy Virgin for our intercessor, and she as the mother of pity heard our cry, and the weather gave us some respite.

The bow being now almost under water and the baling tubs choked up with the pepper which could only be got out with shovels, all the bales having burst, I again took counsel with the officers and sailors as to what was best to be done to save our lives and whatever else was possible, and it was agreed by common consent of all that our misery having come to such a pitch we should go in quest of land and run the ship ashore to save our lives or meet the fate God destined for us.

Having entered this desperate resolution in the king's book, we steered for the shore, which we found the next day to be the beginning of the land of Natal, in latitude 32° , and we rejoiced as much as if it had been the shore of this kingdom, for in a miserable condition even misfortunes are a source of joy.

Here to lighten the ship, on the eve of Saint Peter's day we threw the main yard overboard with great difficulty, on account of the weather, which was still stormy, and would not allow us even this short relief. As we sailed along the shore in search of some beach or creek where we could most safely and conveniently run the ship aground, we saw some very high mountains apparently divided by a river, and smoke in different places, denoting human habitations. As in such cases there are always as many opinions as persons, I needed special grace from God prudently to decide what was best to be done, and I resolved to get as near as possible to the shore in order to examine what we saw, but the wind decreasing I could only get within a little less than a league from the said mountains.

Most of the crew were determined to run the ship ashore at once, fearing she would sink from the constantly increasing water, but I would not consent to it, and over-ruling the confusion and different opinions, I commanded them to cast anchor. Several still insisted that we would all inevitably be drowned, a fate which some might escape if we ran ashore; and others said that the cable would certainly break in the night, for it was now very late, and the ship be driven on the coast,

when the darkness would render it impossible for a single soul to escape.

In this labyrinth of opinions, guided by the best advice I ordered the boat to be launched, concerning which there was also wild discussion and the greatest confusion. Finally I entered the boat, resolved to die or to explore the land in front of us, upon which I had firmly fixed my eyes for our salvation, and I foresaw correctly, as it afterwards proved. I took with me the boatswain's mate, whose duty it was to accompany me whenever I left the ship, and thirty-seven other men all armed with muskets and guns, a barrel of powder, balls, and the necessary match, but no provisions, our haste preventing it.

I asked Father Jeronymo Lobo, of the Company of Jesus, if he would accompany me in this peril, for in all those we had endured on board the ship he had done so with much charity, and his great virtue moved him to consent. I also called upon Father Antonio, the ship's chaplain, and it being now very late we put off from the ship, and seen from without her wales appeared all twisted like a shepherd's crook. Being determined first to reconnoitre the mountains we had passed by before the shore which lay opposite the ship, I told those on board that by the third watch I would return and report what I had seen.

Though all were of opinion that I was going to my death, it being difficult to navigate along that rugged coast in a very large ship, and still more so in such a small boat, yet knowing that this desperate course alone afforded some hope, and having great confidence in God our Lord, I resolved in the midst of such hardships to expose my life to this evident peril, being convinced that the gain would be great, though the danger was one of the worst I have ever encountered, as everything appeared to be easy in prospect of the advantage of reaching land. For when the ship should come ashore most of the people would necessarily save themselves on rafts, spars, and planks, and thus some being half dead with the cold, which was extreme, or wounded by nails and splinters, and bruised by the rolling of the breakers which burst furiously a long way from the shore, some rustic might come out of the thicket and kill them in order to rob them, which I and those with me might prevent. Also after landing, I could leave them thus armed, protected by a trench or bank against any Kaffirs who might

come down to the shore; and they might also safely secure whatever came to land, while I could return to the ship again and see what was best to be done with her.

Although we rowed vigorously and the tide was in our favour we could not reach the land till after the sun had set and it had grown very dark, and I found myself in great straits, for the sea was very rough and prevented us from seeing anything. It was owing to the mercy of God that the boat was not shattered by the breakers which rolled in from a great distance and broke upon the coast, when we must all have inevitably been lost. As the darkness of the night prevented us from seeing even the high mountains, we put out a little from the shore and anchored with a grapnel as a last resource, for we could think of no other, each one in his heart preparing to render an account of his sins, for it seemed to us that we could not keep afloat two hours.

But after the misery of that night, with the severe cold and heavy seas which burst over the boat, we saw the morning dawn, and made an attempt to accomplish our design. We observed no place, however, which we could reach in the boat, and though we could see the break in the mountains we could not even distinguish clearly if there was a large river, for the sea ran very high upon the coast and burst into spray far from it, as it was all rocks, and therefore it was impossible for us to discover what we wished.

After this discomfiture we rowed along the shore towards the ship with great difficulty, being kept back by the currents which flow swiftly towards the Cape of Good Hope, and the men were not only exhausted with their past labour, but were also very weak through want of food, and so we made but little way, still keeping a keen look out for some place where we could get in, which God would not permit, His divine providence intending that the work should be all His own. It was now nearly three o'clock in the afternoon of the feast of Saint Peter, and we were in sight of the ship, but could not get near her, and casting anchor again to rest the men the wind increased, blowing south-east, which is contrary upon that coast, and the sea was running in the opposite direction owing to the past winds, which blew from the west and west-south-west. In this miserable condition we called upon the mercy of God, who showed

that it was not His will that we should reach the ship and rejoin our comrades.

Father Jeronymo Lobo recited an act of contrition aloud, which we all repeated after him, and turning the boat's head towards the shore and her stern to the sea, rowing with all our strength that she might be carried forward more quickly by the wind and waves, we prepared to run ashore as best we could. When we were near the land a wave like a mountain broke over us, filling the boat with water, and had it not been for a sailor named Antonio Domingues, near whom I sat and who was steering with an oar for a helm, that moment must have been our last. With unfailing courage and great judgment he succeeded in keeping the boat straight on the crest of the wave, which was immediately followed by others no less terrible, as is usual on an unbroken coast. Calling upon the Virgin of the Rosary, man's constant protectress in the greatest misery, she was pleased that we should be carried ashore among the waves without anyone being drowned. On the contrary, each one held fast his arms, and those who could swim best, adventuring first, found a footing and helped the others, so that all were saved. I, who could hardly keep myself above water, remained quiet until they reached me, and by the mercy of God got safely to land.

We got out the powder and ammunition quite dry, as they were in a water-tight barrel. My first care was to order a fire to be made by means of the gun flints, to dry our arms, and then returning to the boat I saw that it was half in pieces and full of sand. Judging this to be one of the greatest miracles which our Lord God had worked for us, we embraced each other, rendering thanks to him as men newly born into this world after having almost found ourselves in the next.

We then withdrew to a little thicket, which seemed to us the most convenient place to defend ourselves from the natives of the land and to dry our clothing, each one building a fire where he thought best, which was easily done, wood being abundant in that country.

In the meantime, when those in the ship saw the boat turn away they thought from the height of the waves that I would be lost, and raising the anchor and unfurling the foresail they steered for the same spot, which was a little beyond the

mountains I have spoken of, where we had always intended to run ashore. The wind blowing from the eastward was favourable, and seeing their approach we ran to the shore and hoisted a towel at the end of a lance to show them that we were not drowned and could help them when they came to land. But as the waves were so high that they could not see us, and the ship would not obey the helm, turning now to sea and now to land, thinking that all those who had gone in the boat were drowned they made for the shore which I have often mentioned, and which I had gone to explore. There they ran the ship aground near a place where a river flows into the sea, with sandbanks on either side, the tide ebbing and flowing in its channel with great impetus. But as it was more than a third of a league from the spot where they touched land, the tide being so low that the coast was covered with surf, they could not then discover the channel of the river, and the weather growing calmer they had greater hope of life, passing that night and the next day in a thousand consultations.

Here it is necessary to state that as soon as I left the ship, in accordance with my instructions they threw overboard everything that was in the prow and the upper part, and thus they were able to keep afloat until they came ashore.

The day after the ship was stranded they launched an Indian boat belonging to the Count Viceroy, which was our only hope, and the most adventurous went in it to see if there was any channel or place where they could land, for though the stream was very narrow, with from seven to eight spans of water, it was only smooth in parts, for the sea breaking on the sandbanks ran along the shore with great impetus and a heavy surf.

The day on which I was wrecked with the boat, which was the same day that the ship ran ashore, some natives came to those who had landed with me, and whom I had left with Father Jeronymo Lobo while I climbed a mountain with some of the men to discover the position of the ship. We signalled to her with towels, that we might all be encouraged, they at seeing that we had escaped the fury of the sea and that they could also come ashore where we could help them, and ourselves at the prospect of having comrades in the future hardships we anticipated, for it is no small consolation to the wretched to have companionship in their misfortunes.

The next day at dawn I sent the boatswain's mate with Simão Franco and fourteen of my best men, all armed, to the shore opposite the ship to render what assistance was required. I could not go myself, because I had to remain with the others of my company, most of whom were not fit to move. After they had gone the sun rose, and many natives came out of the woods and gradually assembled until they numbered more than three hundred. This caused us great anxiety, our number being so inferior and for the most part bruised by the buffeting of the sea, and not well armed.

The climate of this country is excellent. There are great forests of high thick trees and fragrant odours, and though the cold is extreme wood is plentiful, and as the sun rises it warms the earth sufficiently. This is in the winter, but when the sun is nearer heat is not lacking, though it was endurable and did us no harm. We always walked in it, yet no one fell ill; on the contrary most of us were very sick on arriving, and nearly all got better, only four or five dying. These were very ill when they landed, and from the fear and dread of finding themselves cast away upon these shores they died during the first five or six days. We buried them in a spot which we selected for the purpose, thinking that many would die, and we placed a cross above their graves. We were moved to great sorrow, and it increased our grief to see our comrades buried in a place where no step would come but those of wild animals or the natives who are hardly to be distinguished from wild beasts.

The men of this country are very lean and upright, tall of stature, and handsome. They can endure great labour, hunger, and cold; they live two hundred years and even more in good health, and with all their teeth. They are so light that they can run over the rugged mountains as fleetly as stags. They are clothed in skins which hang over their shoulders to the knees; these are cow-hides, but they have the art of dressing them till they are as soft as velvet. There are rich and poor among them, but this is according to the number of their cattle. They all carry sticks in their hands about two spans in length, with a tail at the end like the brush of a fox, which serves them as a handkerchief and fan. They use sandals of elephant's hide, which they carry hanging from their hands, and I never saw them on their feet. Their arms are assagais with broad well-

fashioned heads. Their shields are of elephant hide with handles like ours, but made like leathern targets; the richest use others. They all have dogs with ears and tails cropped, with which they hunt wild pigs and stags, as well as buffaloes, elephants, tigers, and lions. There are many hippopotami. Among the birds are partridges, wild hens, and cassowaries, but they are very small; there are green doves and parrots which are very good to eat, for we killed many. There are also rabbits, hares, and wild cats, all of which we caught in snares.

The kings have four, five, and seven wives. The women do all the work, planting and tilling the earth with sticks to prepare it for their grain, which is millet as large or larger than linseed. They have maize also, and plant large melons which are very good, and beans and gourds of many kinds, also sugar canes, though they brought us very few of these. Cows are what they chiefly value: these are very fine and the tamest cattle I have ever seen in any country. In the milk season they live chiefly upon it, making curds and turning it sour, which was little to our taste. They also eat a certain root which resembles spurge laurel, and they say it is very strengthening. There are others yielding a fine seed, which also grows under ground. They eat this with great enjoyment, and also the gum from the trees; but they make no use whatever of the fruit in the woods, which proved of great service to us, for it helped to sustain us for many days, though it does not resemble any that is found in this kingdom or in India.

The women bring no dowry in marriage, on the contrary the husband pays the bride's father with cattle, and they become as slaves to their husbands; they choose six or seven, and take one into their house every moon without any jealousy whatever arising. Even their ornaments go to the men, and the women wear only skins better or worse according to the position of their husbands. Their ornaments are bracelets on their arms and pendants in their ears, of copper or bone.

Being on shore as I have said, we bartered some millet from them, of which their hands were full; and they made signs to Father Jeronymo Lobo that they would exchange it for some locks, ring-handles, and nails of a writing-desk. We were faint with hunger, having eaten nothing for three days but half a biscuit and even less, which Father Jeronymo happened to

bring tied up in a towel and divided equally among all; and I felt so weak that I went to some wild fig-trees and ate the inner piths, which though they resemble those of India, and the natives there use them as food, are not at all pleasant to the taste.

When these natives drew near to the place where we were posted with our backs to a thicket which served as a defence against the cold and them in case they should attack us, they stuck their assagais in a sandbank opposite to us before they drew near, and then asked by signs why we had arms in our hands when theirs were laid aside? As they showed suspicion of this, and it was a time for making friends, I resolved to go among them, giving my gun to a comrade and leaving a pistol and dagger in my belt. My first salute to them was to place my hand on their beards and smooth them well, then I sat down among them, at which they appeared well pleased, understanding that I was the captain of the company, and they showered praises upon me, calling me in their language Canansys, Umlungo, Umkulu, Manimusa, which are equivalent to great titles in ours.

We remained thus for two whole hours, until they dispersed in different directions. I sent a ship's boy with a keg to bring water from a river which was not far off, and several natives came out of the wood and took it from him, as well as a knife, and striking him several times on the head they returned to their cover. It seemed to me that I could revenge myself by a stratagem and kill one of them, which I also thought would secure our safety during the night. Therefore I called a sailor who had no small reputation for courage, and sent him, sword in hand, to fill a cauldron at the river, thinking that the natives would not take it from him. I followed him with four guns in the hands of good marksmen, and that we might not be observed we remained a little behind, hidden by a curve in the land. The sailor reached the spot, and seeing no one he put his sword on the ground with the cauldron and taking off the lid began to fill it with water which was flowing over some stones. Above him was a hillock, behind which a native was crouching, who suddenly sprang up, and leaping like a greyhound to the place where the sailor was, he carried off the cauldron and lid so suddenly that the sailor was too overcome

with surprise to do anything. We came up, but when we lifted our guns the negro was already fleeing up the mountain like a bird, and though we fired we did not hit him. By this they were emboldened to attack us in the night, seeing that our arms did them no damage; and I could not fail to be anxious, dreading what afterwards occurred.

As soon as night completely closed in I posted sentinels where I thought best, with their arms ready to defend us, and withdrew into the wood before mentioned with the remainder of the company. As we were warming ourselves by the fire the sentinels gave the alarm, for more than thirty negroes were coming along the shore with loud cries, and bounding from side to side. Few as we were, and weak and faint, we sprang to arms; but I forbade any shot to be fired before the muzzles of our guns were at their bellies, for though we might get an assagai wound, if we could kill a couple of them they would respect us more. The men, who were ill disciplined, could hardly endure this order, which experience had taught me when I fought in India with men more reasonable than these, first waiting to see what damage they should receive from our arms, and attacking us more or less vigorously accordingly.

One of the sentinels on the side on which they were approaching, seeing that they came no nearer and were within less than gun-shot of us, carried away by daring, quitted his post and advanced towards them; but I reprov'd him with words and struck him in the back, sending him again to his post, knowing that the design of these barbarians was only to draw us to the shore, where their great agility would soon enable them to defeat us. So we remained for two hours, they refusing to approach and we to move from the wood at our back. In other thickets close by many natives lay in ambush, and at last with loud howling they made their purpose clear and proved mine to be correct, for they scattered themselves and surrounded us, many coming up behind where the thicket was very dense, and down a mountain where they moved as lightly and freely as on level ground. Breaking a passage through the thicket they posted themselves upon a bank behind us, from which they hurled down pieces of rock and clods of earth, striking many of us on the head, even those whom sickness forced to remain lying down, and therefore we were obliged to put out the fire,

that the shades of night might cover us and interfere with their aim.

We felt this attack severely, for we had not been twenty-four hours on shore and were scarcely dry from the sea and enfeebled with cold and hunger. The strongest and best armed in the company were absent, having gone by my orders in the morning to the place where the ship was aground, and not being expected back until night. The want of them troubled me greatly, both for lack of their help and because I did not know what had happened to them. However, arranging for our defence with those that remained, I left the sentinels at their post, which was close on the outer side of the wood, commanding the space I required, and stationing others along the sides where the negroes were breaking through the thicket to reach us. These were stout hearted, though few, and I posted two others with muskets in trees, and the remainder close by, near the thicket, with pistols and guns, giving them orders not to fire till the muzzles of their guns were at the enemy's breasts, and I went from post to post, not trusting the vigilance of others.

The natives continued throwing stones to molest us, but did not hit so often after the fire was put out, and coming very close, a sailor named Vicente de Sousa, who was one of those in the trees, did the first execution with a good shot, which brought down a native. Then we all fired a small volley, but it was sufficient, for every ball told, especially that of a Castilian named Manuel Moreno. After this the natives slackened a little, but not sufficiently to give us any rest that night.

Being so few, with none to relieve guard, we were all benumbed with cold, but we held out till dawn. Father Jeronymo Lobo and the chaplain Friar Antonio helped us bravely, and with some who were fit for nothing else buried a grapnel which had been saved from the boat. At dawn I resolved to set out for the place where the ship was and where I had sent the others, from whom I had as yet received no report of what had occurred.

Father Jeronymo Lobo, being well experienced in hardships such as these in the land of Prester John where he had been for many years, proved an excellent guide and comforter to us, though we were all of opinion that we would not be able to sustain our lives for more than eight days or so in these thickets

and desert shores, the danger being so continual and the lack of everything so great.

As soon as morning broke we left that place, taking it in turns to carry the barrel of powder on our shoulders, which we could hardly manage. The weakest went first, and those who were best fitted for it brought up the rear, with arms in their hands. The shore being in some parts loose sand and in others closely covered with shingle, we could not walk very well, especially those who were burdened, and therefore we agreed to bury the powder in the depths of a thicket, thinking that none of us would ever return for it, but we did so later and found that the natives had not removed it, and indeed it would have been of little use to them.

As soon as the negroes saw us set out, about a hundred of them entered the wood where we had camped to steal what they supposed we had left behind, and therefore they did not follow us, which would have been a great disaster, for with the utmost difficulty and almost torn to pieces we climbed a mountain until we came to a place where we could see the ship and some people on the shore. They hastened joyfully to meet us, for now the Indian boat was coming and going more confidently, having found the channel of the river, which some had crossed by swimming. They brought us food, but our joy deprived us of all wish for it, the effect of great joy being often to make us unmindful of the very means of sustaining life.

Having crossed the river with the whole company, those in the ship disembarking, some on rafts and some in the Indian boat, we began to get out some provisions and to build huts of wood and straw, with which the country is well provided. We constructed a camp, secured on the land side by a defence which formed a circle round it, made of logs placed upon some casks that drifted ashore and filled in below with thorn branches, which was all that time permitted. I divided the men into three companies to keep watch at night, which was always done with arms in hand. The guard-house was in the middle of the camp, and in it we stored all the provisions taken from the ship. I placed a bell there, which was rung at intervals during the watches to show that the sentinels were awake. They called aloud to one another, those of the watch being on the alert, those guarding the arms beginning and the rest answering. I was

thus satisfied that a vigilant look-out was kept at all hours, and the natives were warned that we were not asleep, and therefore when some of them came at night they dared not attack us, seeing that we were on our guard.

The Indian boat was at a little distance, secure from being broken on the shore, for it was in the river sheltered from the storms which are so common on this coast and so much more severe than elsewhere that often from the furious breaking of the waves it seemed to us as if there were fleets at sea battering each other with their guns, so loud was the booming of the waves.

Some of the ship's boys slept in the boat with their muskets, and one night the negroes came to cut the rope by which it was moored to the land, and, being perceived, the boys fired two muskets at them, which caused great anxiety in the camp. Calling the men to arms, I gave them orders on no account to leave their posts, but to defend themselves in case they were attacked, and taking ten men I repaired to the boat, the men being greatly encouraged by seeing how carefully I attended to every danger, offering myself as the first to brave it. The negroes retreated to the woods, so that I only served to encourage those in the boat, recommending them to keep a good watch, after which I returned benumbed by the extreme cold.

After some rest I began to consider the situation of the land and the large trees, and resolved in my mind to build a vessel, seeing the convenience of the river, if God gave us life, and I kept this resolution to myself and told no one of it. With this end in view I took measures little by little to get ashore several bags of rice and barrels of biscuit, fish, and meat, which was done with difficulty and great danger although the distance was short, because of the constant heavy seas, which sometimes prevented us going to the ship for three days. There were always some of the men on board, for there they had more to eat; but this was made up for by the continual fear they endured from the sea breaking over the ship and her constant creaking, as she was only kept together by the strength of the beams, which alone prevented her from going to pieces, and the sea rose and fell in her as in a broken basket, so that at high tide everything below the decks was under water.

During the first days I went to the ship for his Majesty's

despatches which I was bringing to this kingdom, and then for the powder, balls, match, and other arms which I had placed in barrels as before mentioned. I accomplished this with great danger, for the sea overturned the boat, and no one would have ventured if I had not done so, calling on the strongest sailors for the purpose, that they might row better.

I had already landed all the precious stones, ambergris, musk, bezoar stones, and seed-pearl, which were in the hands of the officers, to whom I gave orders to take care of them until they could be registered. They were delivered at Angola by order of the governor and council of the treasury of that kingdom, as will be hereafter related in detail.

Thus we continued discharging things during the first days, which the weather only permitted on some mornings, and got together as much rice as possible, which amounted to six hundred and forty bags. We ate one directly, though it was wet, and dried the rest, making a storehouse in which we placed it, Father Jeronymo Lobo having charge of it to divide it, informing me of what was necessary.

Several barrels drifted ashore in which we had packed cloth and other articles, but as these were thrown from the ship and left to the mercy of the waves, if the tide was going out most of them were carried to other shores, which were enriched with things of value, though all rotten and wet. But the natives availed themselves of nothing except four nails, if they could find them, which I guarded against as carefully as if they had been diamonds, for if they had sufficient of these they would with difficulty barter anything with us, and this was what I most relied on, though they had held no communication with us as yet, excepting a few poor wretches who came to gather mussels, to whom we did no harm.

All this occurred before the 10th of July, and on that day I declared my intention of building a boat, which they all considered impossible for want of carpenters; and they talked of setting out overland, being moved to this by the chance appearance among them of the account of the wreck of the ship *São João*, which was passed from hand to hand, and which I pretended not to be aware of, even though they were dissuaded by a sailor named João Ribeiro de Lucena, one of the survivors of that miserable wreck. He, having experience besides being

a man of good sense, pointed out to them the great difficulties of journeying by land; nevertheless there were so many altercations that I issued an order that every one who wished to set out should come and tell me so, and I would give them articles of barter for the journey, as it would be easier for me to build one boat than two, and I should require less provisions.

I did this to ascertain the views of all, which I afterwards greatly regretted, for I discovered some religious who adhered to the said party, endeavouring rather to preserve the friendship of a sailor than that of their captain and friend. This party was now in such a rebellious frame of mind that those who wished to leave went about recruiting men, and even those whom I knew were inclined still to remain with me allowed themselves to be persuaded, even those whom I had selected for the work of building the boat, finding them the most apt in using the hatchet.

Being on the shore one morning with some of the men waiting for the Indian boat, which was always in great danger and low in the water, and when it came near the men went into the sea up to their chests, some to hold it steady and prevent its being dashed upon the shore and others to land the rice, those who wished to set out came to me and with great courtesy gave me a paper, telling me that they had drawn it up in accordance with the order which I had issued, and they delivered it to me that I might decide what was best for the general salvation.

I took the paper, and said that I would not read it, but only wished to know if they would share my fortune, since until that time we had suffered in each other's company, and it was not to be supposed that I had more assurance of life than each of them and therefore must labour that we might all be saved, especially as they had exceeded the permission I gave in recruiting men, so that I was even made anxious by those I had chosen to help me in the work of building the vessel. Further, that I had only issued that order to discover their intentions and of what mettle they were, and not to separate them from me, and that I felt their action deeply, more especially as the old and sick in the company could neither travel with them nor assist me.

They all replied with a great show of obedience and affection that they recognised me alone as their captain, and would follow and obey me without failing, but they would recognise my

authority alone and obey me only and not the officers of the ship.

To this I replied that as there was no longer any ship there were no officers to command them, nevertheless they owed them respect as their seniors, their former superiors, and as having more experience; and I added that our shipwreck would be quite different from any other, for there would never be anything between us but great unanimity and friendship, and so our Lord would have mercy on us; but if it proved otherwise we would all be lost, killing and devouring each other. For my part I assured them that there should be no deaths, but I would help them in all things as I had done hitherto, being the first to risk myself in every danger, and would bear all hardships equally with them without any difference whatever.

Upon this agreement all were pacified, and I, firmly resolved to carry out the work, consulted with the ship's master, a man of great experience, concerning the kind of vessel we should build, and with other officers and Manuel Fernandes mentioned before, who had by this time recovered from his fall down the hatchway, and in whom I placed all my hope, he being the only carpenter who had assisted us, and was ready to do so now with great good-will. We all went to a sandy shore, where we drew a plan of the vessels like the craft of Seville, sixty spans long in the keel, ten in the stem, nine in the hold, and twenty in breadth, laying planks in the shape of the chief floor timbers.

On Saturday the 20th of July we went to a forest where we blessed the trees in the name of our Lady of the Nativity, making a vow that if she brought us safely to any port on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope we would sell the vessel and take the proceeds to this kingdom as alms for the nuns of Saint Martha, where her statue is, and thereupon I gave the first stroke of the axe to a tree and the others finished cutting it down, beginning this work, in which all could not take part, as we had only three serviceable hatchets, one saw, and two carpenters, namely Manuel Fernandes, a very skilful workman, and the ship carpenter's boy, who hardly knew how to draw a line.

But with good courage and great confidence in our Lady we chose a piece of dry timber which had drifted ashore from the ship, and near the river in a convenient place apart from the

camp we laid down the keel; and when we had placed it on the blocks we all marched barefooted from the camp in procession, reciting the litanies of our Lady, and the chaplain blessed it, and we gave it the name *Nossa Senhora da Natividade*, performing this ceremony with tears and great devotion.

Then I set about removing the camp to the place where we were to build the vessels. There I ordered a house to be constructed for the forge, and took in sufficient space for the timber we were felling in the woods, making a shipyard like those of this kingdom. I cleared the site with great labour, cutting down and burning many trees, that there might be no cover between us in which the negroes could lie in ambush. I chose a site for my dwelling on a little hillock which everyone avoided, because several vipers had been seen there, the shipyard being in front and the river at the back. I accomplished this with the help of the slaves and the occasional assistance of a ship's boy.

As the most essential thing, a place for the celebration of divine worship, was lacking, Father Jeronymo Lobo took upon himself the building of a church, for which we chose what he considered the best site. I gave him those of the sailors who showed the most devotion, and when sufficient timber had been felled he raised a very well built church.

After this I ordered a house to be built, which we called the *Bengaçal*, an Indian word, in which we stored all the provisions and made it the guard house, as it was in the centre of the camp, in which we placed all we had under lock and key, Father Jeronymo Lobo keeping the key and serving out the provisions. Then we divided into parties, each building their straw hut where they thought best, within the limits which I set them.

At the same time I ordered houses to be built in which to store the timber and keep it sheltered from the sun and rain. Having completed these arrangements, we remembered that we had no bellows for the forge, and without them it was impossible to continue the work we had begun. This did not fail to cause me some anxiety, but as nothing can daunt the industry of men in a case of necessity, especially when they are enlightened by God, who was our guide in this work, we contrived to construct a bellows with the bottom boards of an angelim wood chest, the leather of a hide from Scindia, and the barrels of two muskets which we cut off. We made an anvil for hammering the iron

from a davit which we fixed in the ground upside down, and it proved perfectly firm. We made the necessary blow-pipes, pincers, and small hammers, and for the large ones we used four sledge-hammers which we had brought from the ship.

As all this time the men worked as they pleased, for greater convenience and less confusion I divided them into parties. The carpenter chose four men to help him in building the vessels; the boatswain's mate chose eight to fell and carry out the trees that the ship's carpenter selected for braces, floor timbers, fillings, and planks, which was all they were fit for; others to drag them away, sometimes a great distance, and some to strip them that they might be lighter for carrying to the shipyard. Others sawed planks, for which we had made a frame, and others went in the Indian boat, for it was necessary to bring water every other day from a spring which we found in the middle of a river at the foot of a mountain, in the direction of the sea, without which we could not have survived, for the water which we had from a pond was very nauseous, because every kind of wild animal in the wood drank from it, and if we had continued to use it we should all have perished.

Those who were employed in one capacity were not obliged to attend to anything else; those in the shipyard alone laboured diligently from dawn till very late, for they never lacked work. The master, the pilot, and Manuel Neto and Domingo Lopes, passengers, who were also very good pilots, helped in the shipyard in lifting and steadying the timbers for working; and others sometimes came and assisted out of curiosity. When I chose the site for this work it was covered with the footprints of sea-horses, buffaloes, and other wild beasts; but with the continued presence of men it became as free from them as the square before the palace in this city. The tailors and shoemakers of the company, who were fit for nothing else, I kept solely occupied in making clothes and sandals from the skins covering the bales, to protect us from the cold of the climate and the rugged ground.

Everything being thus arranged, we continued our work very slowly at first, for it seemed to all impossible to build two vessels in such a short time, their reason being that when a ship is begun in this kingdom with the necessary carpenters and materials, the work is commenced one summer and completed the

next. They also deemed it impossible for the vessels to cross the bar, because of the many windings of the stream and because the current was so strong that they must unavoidably strike upon some of the rocks on every side. And though these difficulties might be overcome, the doubling of the Cape in such small craft, heavily laden with men, not the best ballast, since they are all on deck, seemed the most certain peril. But I, trusting in our Lady, overruled all these objections, that greater praise might be ours for overcoming the difficulties which daunted those of the ship *São João*, who did not build vessels, fearing that they would not be able to launch them because of the many shoals and large reefs, and therefore exposed themselves to the many miseries of travelling through the lands of the Kaffirs, as the curious may see in the account of that wreck, and judge which was the wisest course.

When we had been fifteen days on shore, the better to explore the land on which our fortune had cast us I went in the Indian boat up the river with twelve men armed with guns, to see if there were any cattle which we might seize for our sustenance if they would not barter them, for we had very little salt meat. Also because a negro came to us bringing a calf which he refused to sell, though we offered him two brass bracelets for it, and as we had only six and it was during the first days of our being there, I would not offer more for fear of fixing the rate of barter beyond what we possessed. Having advanced nearly three leagues up the river, which is very clear and pleasant, we found that at that distance the water was sweet.

We saw many kraals along the banks, and various crops of millet, gourds, and beans; we saw also herds of horned cattle scattered upon the hills, which were driven into the interior as soon as we were observed. We had some nails with us, which we gave to several negroes who were following us in the woods along the banks, and to whom we called, but we could not understand them well because our interpreter, a negro from Mozambique, could only make them comprehend a few words. We turned back without concluding any bargain for cattle or millet, planning to send a party at dawn or in the night to lie in ambush in the woods and carry off a hundred cows or as many as they could, for which we would pay them if they chose, and retreat with our prize. This enterprise offered some difficulty

because of our want of knowledge of the country, but I was resolved to overcome it, for we were suffering from hunger.

As we approached the camp at nightfall, opposite to it on the other side of the river we found a negro king accompanied by his people, who had brought seven very fine cows for sale, as our Lord was pleased to be mindful of our misery and to allow the news that there were Portuguese upon those shores to reach a mixed breed of whom Francisco Vaz d'Almada speaks in his itinerary, who had been wrecked in the ship *Santo Alberto* more than forty years before with Nuno Velho Pereira, and remained in these woods as a child, and in course of time he married and was now very rich and had three wives and many children. Knowing we were there, he began to speak to our credit with the Kaffirs, telling them that besides being a very valiant people we were his relations, and he bade them bring us many cows, for we were very rich and would pay them well for all. He was with the said king, and began to shout to us "Portuguese, Portuguese," and we, hearing him afar off, recognised that this was a Portuguese left behind from some former shipwreck.

With great delight I approached them in the boat, and the cabra* in confused words of our language explained himself as well as he could, and we understood something of what he said. Then the king came on board the boat to see me, and some of his followers stole a silver cup. Finding it missing, I complained to the king, saying that I was surprised he should visit me to solicit our friendship and that his people should steal my property, for now I would find it difficult to trust them. Upon this they began to wrangle among themselves, and after a great deal of noise the cup was produced.

As night had now closed in, I left them in the same place on the other side of the river, and returned to our camp, where I ordered some rice to be cooked, and sent it with a little syrup which was left at the bottom of a jar. They made a great fuss over it, for the king filled his palm with it, and one of the others dipped in his finger and another touched the finger of the first which was covered with the syrup, and so they passed it round, sucking their fingers and marvelling at a thing so delicious.

The next day I sent the boat to convey them across the river to see our camp and riches, that they might be moved by cove-

* Son of a mulatto and a black woman.

tousness to trade with us more freely. The king came with great show of authority, having put on the sandals which he carried in his hand, with great gravity and a composed countenance. I ordered the men to take up their arms, but they would not let us salute them with a volley of musketry. Then I showed the king all over our camp and the store-house, where he sat down, and I threw round his neck what he esteemed as a valuable jewel. It was a bell, which Father Jeronymo Lobo had ready tied to a silk cord; we also gave him a piece of brass. After entertaining the negro king in this manner, I returned with him, and we crossed the river, with our arms, to trade for the cows. These were the first we obtained, but within eight days others were sent by order of the said cabra, who was named Antonio, and he remained with us for a week or two and afterwards brought us his children and friends, whom we entertained, giving them very well-rounded pieces of copper made from the cauldrons, which were things of price that they valued more than anything else.

The barter was entirely in my hands and those of Father Jeronymo Lobo, who assisted me to purchase all they brought, in which we took the greatest care, and our Lord showed us such favour that whereas I had given orders that we were only to kill one cow every Saturday, we were able to kill three a day; and during the time we were there we obtained in trade two hundred and nineteen, many of them with calf, which after they brought forth their young gave us sufficient milk in which to cook the rice. We made a kraal for all these cattle, and appointed eight herdsmen, who took it in turns during the week to drive them to pasture on the hills, where they were never molested, though at first I ordered them to take their fire-arms.

At the beginning of August, as the site near the river was the best and most convenient, I removed the camp from its old position, and in order to provide as well as possible for the building of the vessels I brought ashore a barrel of tallow, half a barrel of tar, some pieces of cable, a cauldron for boiling pitch, nineteen cakes of benzoin, some thread, several pieces of dimity, and some unfinished candle wicks, all of which I had left on deck.

That it may not be thought I am forgetting the ship and her fate, I shall relate what happened to her, which was as follows. Seventeen days after she ran ashore the crew of the Indian boat

went on board to see if they could bring back some more rice. Whether they lit a fire in the stove for some purpose, or left a piece of candle burning, forgetting it in the haste of embarking when no one thought of anything but the waves breaking against the sides, for there was always great danger in going backwards and forwards, and thus the candle burnt out or the ashes fell on the tarred timbers, it happened that during the third watch a cry was raised that the ship was on fire. The wind was blowing high and made a huge conflagration, which not only blew up the guns, but in a short time the ship was burnt to the waterline. Such is the providence of God that had it not been for this we could hardly have built our vessels, for otherwise we could not have got out any nails, because the ship was already nearly under water and we could not have cut away anything that could be of use to us; but after the fire many pieces were washed ashore, which, though we had great trouble in burning and separating them, were full of nails that after being straightened in the forge were serviceable.

After we were settled in the new camp the work went on very quickly, and by the 15th of August the midship frames, the stem post, and five more frames of the *Nossa Senhora da Natividade* were finished. I ordered another vessel to be commenced, which I called the *Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem*, for the men had now more skill in cutting wood than at first, having gained experience from continual labour, so that many remained at Angola earning their daily wage as well as any carpenter. I ordered them to work more frequently at this vessel, in order to disarm the suspicions of some who imagined that I was only building one for myself and my followers, and would leave the rest of them behind in these woods: such is the rashness and cavilling of human malice.

In the midst of these labours the religious never neglected to celebrate the feasts of the saints; on the contrary not one went by without the church being decorated with a profusion of flowers and without our hearing mass and a sermon, with frequent confessions and communions, and when hosts failed for the latter we made a very good stamp for forming them. Crosses were set up in many places, where altars were erected and feasts appointed, prizes being given for the best decorations, as I shall relate hereafter. It was understood from the favours

we received from God our Lord that the sacrifices which we offered him in these savage lands were very acceptable, for he always gave us exactly what we required, and though it often seemed to us impossible to obtain or accomplish these things, yet we always succeeded in the end upon having recourse to his infinite mercy.

Our intercourse with the mixed breed Antonio, who called himself our friend, made things much easier for us, for when the other negroes saw that whenever he visited us he took back a piece of copper or something to eat, they greatly desired our friendship, and came with him to visit me, bringing cows for sale, and afterwards came negroes of higher rank. I ordered the muskets to be fired at the beginning and end of every watch, and so we came to be looked upon with the respect our safety required, and I was able to send ten or twelve men with guns to a distance of eight or ten leagues to barter cattle. Antonio resented this, because he lost what he was accustomed to steal when he went to trade for us, and although he had made a good profit he tried to prevent this commerce, putting it into the negroes' heads not to sell us cattle or milk, saying that we would not only bewitch all the cattle they had left but they would all die.

However our credit in the country was now so good that if some would not trade with us others offered, especially as we had a Kaffir who had come with Antonio and had also been wrecked in the ship *São João*; and although he was married he left his wife and all and came to me. I ordered him to be dressed in our fashion, and he confessed himself, being a staunch convert, and served us very faithfully. This man told us what Antonio was plotting against us, being well acquainted with the language of the country, and therefore, though he gradually abandoned us, we did not miss him, besides which we had now plenty of cattle.

It happened that a king who was held to be a valiant and warlike man, because these people are always at war amongst themselves, came to see me with a large following. There were some crows upon the shore, and I ordered a sailor to go as if by chance with a handful of shot in his musket in order not to miss, and to kill a crow. The Kaffirs watched his movements, and taking aim he killed a crow with two slugs which he used

instead of shot for greater effect. The Kaffirs, seeing this, were astonished; and if they had been plotting any treason they abandoned it, and taking up the crow they examined the wound, putting their fingers in their mouths, which is their way of exhibiting friendship, and showing by other signs that they would rather have us for friends than enemies and neighbours,

When this negro had been with us a few days he was drowned in going to gather fruit on the other side of the river, and was never seen again, in spite of the efforts we made to find him, searching all the woods, and even going to his dwelling to look for him. Some of the natives told us that they had seen the negro's dead body on the opposite bank of the river, at which we were greatly grieved, for he served us faithfully and guided us well wherever we wished to go.

In the beginning, before we could go about safely among these people, it happened that a few of them came to the other side of the river where some timber had been thrown ashore by the tide, and they burnt it and carried off the nails, though we tried to prevent them; and as it was on the other bank it was not possible always to keep guard there. One morning some of the ship's boys were on the shore and fired several arquebuses at them from our side, hitting a negro, who fell among the stones. I sent for him, as he was calling to the rest to come and help him or we would devour him. But I treated him well, dressing his wound, for he was shot through the leg, and in a few days the wound healed, but he was lame, the shinbone being broken. I hung some nails round his neck, and sent him back to his people, that he might publish the benefit he had received, and they might come to us and bring what they could, as I told him when he left us; but he never returned, for they are an ungrateful race and to be dealt with by injuries rather than affection.

We came to have such frequent intercourse with them, and they held us in such esteem, that they asked me to give them rain, as they wanted water for their crops. Seeing that the skies were heavy and lowering, I told them that it would rain the next day, and so it fell out, by which they were convinced that we had power to perform such things and others still greater. A few days later I sent some of my men to trade in their lands, and the weather being threatening they asked a king to give them shelter for the night, that their arms might not get wet.

To this the king replied that since we could command the rain at will we might now command it not to rain that we might not get wet; but one gave the ready answer that the case was not sufficiently urgent to justify such a proceeding.

Thus they had such a high opinion of us that another king who had suffered from an ulcer in the leg for many years also came to me to be cured, promising me many cows if the wound healed. I rubbed on a little cocoa-nut oil, and two days later ordered him to be taken across the river where he dwelt, telling him to return in so many moons if he was not cured. I did this because I hoped by that time our Lord in his mercy would allow us to cross the bar, or that we should have journeyed inland. By these contrivances we sustained ourselves during the time of our residence in the country, in the course of which we collected nine barrels of incense, which we found upon the shore and stored in separate houses, for we kept everything by itself, the powder in one, the rigging, which was pieces of cable, in another, and the provisions in a third, all well covered to keep them dry.

We were greatly encouraged, although we laboured assiduously, by seeing the work advance so rapidly that it seemed as if more than human hands assisted in it. However difficulties were not wanting, but my presence overcame them all, for I was always where the work was going on, and this was very necessary, for though it was of importance to every one, many had lost their time in disputing over a wet blanket or something of the kind, as in such necessity anything is regarded as of importance. They annoyed me with these things, because I wished them all to be contented and disliked taking from one to give to another, and I desired to govern them in peace and love, which I constantly did. But often I could not settle their disputes without severity, and therefore I had some wooden stocks in which I placed those who neglected their work, depriving them of their daily rations, and all were so well under control, fearing that I would pass to more severe punishments, that no one transgressed in anything of importance.

One afternoon in November when I had crossed the river to explore the shore where I had been told there was a better site than that which we occupied, a negro came and informed the master that he had seen three sea horses lying in a thicket.

Repairing to the spot with some men armed with muskets and lances, they saw the animals crossing over to another rivulet which lay on one side of us. Two passed through a shower of bullets, which had no more effect upon them than on a wall, but the other was hit behind the shoulder and fell, and they finished killing it.

This animal is thicker in the body than three large bulls, and has such short legs that the natives dig pits in the track they usually follow and cover them over cunningly, and when their fore or hind legs sink into these pits they cannot get out again, and the natives kill and eat them as we would relish a fine fat capon. Their hide is so thick that a musket bullet will not pierce it and falls flattened on the ground, but the skin of the belly is thinner. They all have a white star on the forehead, small ears like a horse, and a misshapen head, for they have enormous mouths with outward hanging lips, each of which must weigh more than thirty-two pounds. They feed in the forests like any other wild beast.

We amused ourselves with this monster all that evening, and the next day had great trouble in removing it to the opposite shore at a distance, for its evil smell made it an undesirable neighbour. As we expected visitors we determined to treat them with this dainty dish. They were not long in arriving, nor we in greeting and offering it to them, and they feasted on it with great relish, gnawing the hide, tearing at it, and cutting off strips to take away with them.

The fathers kept the feasts of the saints whose rule they followed, thus the chaplain Father Antonio and the Capuchin Father Francisco kept the feast of Saint Francis, decorating the church very well, in which I gave them the necessary assistance. As I was very devoted to Saint Francis Xavier, Father Jeronymo Lobo ordered his feast to be kept with great pomp. A comedy and many farces were studied beforehand, and an enclosure was made in which to hold a bull fight on the eve of the feast, all of which went off very well. On the afternoon of the feast there were many charades and enigmas, with prizes for those who guessed them, by which all were greatly cheered, as was necessary for the encouragement of men exposed to so many hardships.

The *Nossa Senhora da Natividade* was now sheathed, caulked,

and tarred outside with benzoin and incense ; and I ordered her to be launched before Christmas, intending to launch the other at the next spring tide on the eighth or tenth of January. This was accomplished under the direction of the master Miguel Jorge, who arranged everything well and with great skill, fitting up a complete set of tackles which were placed on the river bank at low tide where they worked the ropes made fast to the bow, and greasing the blocks of the way with tallow, of which we had plenty, so that it was like launching from the stocks as ships are launched in this kingdom.

Both vessels were launched in the river by the 10th of January, and sufficient ballast put in them by the master, Miguel Jorge. In order to ship the masts he brought them under some rocks which served us as a crane, and they received the masts in the usual way and as easily as if they had been in Lisbon river provided with all the necessary machinery.

Before this I had ordered oakum to be made from pieces of broken shrouds, and organised a rope-walk, where the master made such ropes as were required, of more or less strands, having preserved some stays which being untwisted served for the purpose.

We also made anchors of wood, which in India are called *chinas*, four for each ship, and the *Nossa Senhora da Natividade*, masted and rigged, was taken to the other side of the river under shelter of a mountain, where we moored her to the trees on shore, anchoring also in the river with the wooden anchors, to secure her against the strong currents prevalent during the spring tides. The masts of the other vessel were being fitted in the meantime. I appointed the crews of each vessel, and they repaired to their posts to make them ready for sea, and though I appointed a sailor named Antonio Alvares master of the other, the ship's master Miguel Jorge directed everything, for such matters could only be entrusted to his experience.

Long before this, the cooper had collected all the staves which drifted ashore, and had made pipes, hogsheads, and barrels, in all twenty-seven for each vessel, exclusive of those we had in ordinary use for drinking. The osiers we found in the woods served for hoops, and we also made use of the old ones. They were all filled before we left, but they did not answer their

purpose well, the staves being old and shrunk by the sun and sea, so that much of the water leaked out, although they stood on shore full of salt-water for many days. Nothing was omitted of what is provided in this kingdom for the voyage to India, for what escaped me was supplied by the skill of the good officers and other members of my company.

At this time, which was about the middle of January, it happened that some Indian women went to bathe in a river near a forest, and two natives seeing them alone came to take from them a copper mug which one of them had in her hand, and as she resisted wounded her severely on the head. We hurried to the spot, but could not then take satisfaction, for they fled and hid in the wood.

One of my negroes had gone inland and found shelter for nearly two months in the house of a king who dwelt near us on the same side of the river, and I had ordered inquiries to be made there as to whether he had been seen; and in this same place they stole another cauldron of mine from some runaway negroes, who now with my slave returned to us, being bound to do so by hunger. I therefore sent ten men with guns to demand satisfaction for these thefts, and to see if the millet was ripe, in order to take it by force or purchase it if they were willing, to provide for our voyage, for all was necessary. The Kaffir king when he found himself convicted of the thefts committed by his people said to the interpreter whom our men had with them, who was also a native in our service, that he would give several cows, but he did not do so; on the contrary, many Kaffirs assembled, secretly summoned by him.

A sailor named Manuel d'Andrade, seeing this, gradually retreated with the others, and raising his gun he shot the king, upon which his men seized their assagais and ours retreated in good order for about a league, killing several more, and among them a negro of such high rank that they were dismayed and advanced no farther. Their intention was to secure the ford of a river on the way to our camp and while our people were climbing a very narrow and rugged slope to hurl down great rocks upon them from the summit and crush them to pieces. But our men were able to regain the open ground, not having advanced far up the slope, and some took another road unperceived by the natives until they were close upon them, when they fled, leaving

the path free for our men to reach the camp with many assagais which they had taken.

As I think it may entertain those who read of this shipwreck, I shall relate an adventure which we had with a sea-horse in the river, where there is no lack of them. It happened that twelve men with their fire-arms went in the Indian boat up the river with those who were going inland to trade, as was usual in order to spare them fatigue; and as the boat was returning for what was necessary they came upon some sea-horses on the land in a place where they could not escape, because it was a very steep mountain. As the boat was between them and the river they were hard pressed in such a small space, and the men began to fire their muskets at them. One of the beasts, which appeared to be the mother of a little one near her, rushed at the boat, and with her teeth carried off an oar and the thole which held it, tearing them to pieces and trying to get into the boat. At this unexpected attack our men gave themselves up for lost, and the animal got under the boat and tried to overturn it, but by using their oars they managed to get away, well warned against meddling with such wild beasts again.

To return to our vessels, our only hope, for on them we depended to save our lives so endangered on these shores. We had now got the one which we called *Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem* rigged and ballasted, and we took her to the place where the other was. While she was being got ready, in order not to lose time I had charged Simão Gonçalves to get the water into the *Nossa Senhora da Natividade* with all due speed, for it was now the 20th of January, and we had only eighty bags of rice, which we were keeping for the voyage, though there was no lack of beef.

Everything necessary, which was half of all we had, was embarked in my vessel, and comprised forty small bags of rice, twenty-seven casks of water, half of which leaked out, ten kegs of powder, and a leg of beef to each person, cut into pieces, steeped in brine, and dried in the sun, which each one had prepared for his sustenance. Those who embarked with me were all the ship's officers, Father Jeronymo Lobo, Friar Antonio, the chaplain, and Friar Antonio, a religious of the order of Saint Dominic, who with the slaves amounted to a hundred and thirty-five souls, including ten slave women who were shut up

in the fore part of the vessel under the hatches, in a space which could hardly hold them.

In the other vessel there were two more than in this, namely, Estacio d'Azevedo Coutinho, whom I appointed captain that he might have better accommodation for himself and his wife Dona Isabel d'Abranches, nine slave women, two religious—one a Capuchin and the other an Augustinian, Manuel Neto, who was a passenger in our former ship, as pilot, and others, numbering in all a hundred and thirty-seven souls.

During these days I ordered an entry to be made by the ship's notary in his Majesty's book, registering all the portable property in the camp which had been saved and which the officers had in their keeping in closed packages, with the packets of rough diamonds sealed with their seals, nothing being wanting, in order thus not only to secure the royal dues, but to make manifest what had been sent privately and was not registered, which amounted to about two-thirds of the whole. This having been done with great accuracy, everything was embarked in my vessel, of which I appointed Domingo Lopes pilot, because he was accustomed to navigate small craft in India, and therefore appeared to me better fitted for it than the ship's pilot whose experience was different.

His Majesty's letters and everything else being embarked with me, on Saturday the 26th of January, the feast of our Lady, to whom I have a special devotion, I determined to set sail, but was unable to do so, as the tide had gone down. We could not leave on Sunday either, as the wind was unfavourable for the purpose; and upon these delays the people began to express different opinions, as is usual among men. On Monday I went in the Indian boat with the pilots to explore the channel, and we placed buoys to mark where the water was deepest. Every part was well sounded, although there was a heavy swell, and encouraged by a light land breeze which was blowing, I resolved to unmoor my vessel, and with the Indian boat towing her and with oars and poles which we had made to prevent her going ashore, we went forward, hoping in God and confiding in the Virgin of the Nativity, until we reached the bar, where she struck several times and grounded. But the sea gradually rose and lifting her, with the poles and oars and assisted by the wind, our Lady was pleased to hear our cry, and brought us

into ten and twelve spans, and then we found deep water. Thence I sent the boat to tow the other vessel, which being a quicker sailer than mine, soon got out.

All were now very jubilant, seeing that we had overcome this obstacle and found ourselves where none had ever thought to be, in a vessel under sail again in quest of the Cape of Good Hope, for which all showered thanks and praise upon me, because I alone had insisted on building two vessels, and in the face of extreme difficulty had brought them to such perfection. But this elation did not last long, for with clear weather and a good east wind running along the coast towards the Cape of Good Hope with the Indian boat in tow, at four o'clock in the afternoon a fish appeared which is called an orelhão, and whenever it is seen a squall follows.

And so it proved, for the wind suddenly veered to the north-west with thunder, and then to the west, and we began to go backward again and were in the greatest danger we had yet endured, in which our Lady of the Nativity worked great wonders, for we were brought to such a pass that we confessed ourselves publicly, the fury of the storm not allowing us to do so more at leisure, and every moment we expected to be overwhelmed, one wave passing over the ship and being followed by another as if it would put an end to us once for all. We had already thrown our miserable cargo overboard, and many were left with nothing but their shirts, all the rest having gone into the sea with their beds, and we even threw over most of the rice we had for our subsistence.

When the storm was over we steered again for the Cape of Good Hope, but we met with fresh tempests, in such sort that as the fault of all these hardships lay with me because I would not travel by land, I found myself greatly persecuted and cast down, for even the religious had something to say to me upon the subject.

On the second night of our being at sea the other vessel parted from us, and though we afterwards went farther than the place where we had then been, we did not find her, at which I was exceedingly grieved, as her company cheered me greatly, and the joy of all being saved together was my chief aspiration.

In this anxiety we spent twenty-two days, always keeping in sight of land and getting no farther than a hundred and seventy

leagues from the river that we came out of to double the Cape of Good Hope. In order not to drift out to sea or lose what way we had made we cast anchor inside Delagoa (*i.e.* Algoa) Bay, but we never imagined we would be able to get out of it one way or the other, even though the wind veered to the east and east-north-east a league out to sea from this bay, where a shoal is marked on the chart. It is a sand bank, on which there are more seals than there are birds on the island of Fernão de Noronha, as I saw very well, for we sailed along it in great peril. It is full of reefs towards the sea, which we did not perceive until we were upon them, and there was no help for it except in calling upon the Virgin of the Nativity. She miraculously delivered us, restraining the waves which were very high on the reef because of the tempestuous west wind, so that they rose like mountains on either side, and had they broken over the vessel, which could not turn to one side or the other because we were following a narrow channel with a sailor at the mast-head directing us where there appeared to be most water, it would certainly have been the end of our labours and our last misfortune. But our Lady delivered us from this and many other tempests, for which we rendered infinite thanks to her, as a very powerful ship could scarcely have endured what awaited us, and our miserable craft was more under water than above it, the deck being little more than a span above the sea.

During these twenty-two days we endured great hardships, not only from the storms but also because many could get no cooked food whatever, and the people, besides being insufficiently clothed, were wet through and had no other shelter than the sky and nowhere to snatch a short rest, for the sea covered everything. We could not open the hatches to get at the provisions, for fear of being swamped, and we had a wheel pump which we worked constantly, and it proved our salvation. A seaman who had great experience of storms and hardships considered these the worst he had gone through. Others so gave themselves up to death that they lay unconscious, and the sea passed over them as if they had been the deck. But still hoping in God, I determined to overcome these misfortunes and double the Cape, or perish in the attempt.

And it pleased God that one day in February when the moon was full we found ourselves on the other side, having doubled it

in the night, and we rendered infinite thanks to his great mercy and to his most blessed mother for this signal favour, for it appeared to us then that we were beginning to be born again, which I shall never doubt as long as I live.

Before we passed the Cape we had determined to put into the Aguada de Saldanha to see if we could procure some sheep and take in water, for it lies on the upper side of the Cape, where the tempests are not so fierce; but as the place is much frequented by the Dutch, and it seemed to us a short distance thence to Angola, I preferred to endure fresh troubles rather than risk falling into the hands of the enemy and imperilling his Majesty's letters and the property I carried, and therefore I pursued my course with greater tranquillity from the absence of storms. Keeping out to sea therefore we came in sight of land once more below Cape Negro, in latitude 16° , and we never lost sight of it again, but sailed along it, intending to put in at Benguela and take in provisions and water, which we greatly needed.

Proceeding up to the latitude of the said fortress, we went in quest of it when it was almost sunset, and night closing in we could not see the port. We put the ship close to the wind, to make the port in the morning, but the winds and currents carried us so far out to sea that when day broke we could not make out what was on shore, at which we were very disconsolate and half dead with hunger, which our not being able to reach the port increased. But it seems that God took us out of our course in order to preserve our lives, for afterwards when we reached Angola we learned that of any ship that put in there nearly all the people died in seven or eight days, and the inhabitants of that town say that at whatever season a ship arrives from sea at Benguela to procure water and provisions, if she remains a few days all the people die there, or afterwards at Angola.

Having nearly reached $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which is the latitude of Angola, we saw a ship at nightfall very close to the land, which we took to be Dutch, and the night being dark the phosphorescence of the sea made us think there were more of them and that they were signalling to each other with lights, as their custom is; and therefore some were of opinion that we ought to steer to the westward. But I would not consent to this, for it seemed

to me better to die speedily, fighting, than to perish of hunger after many days. Day broke, and we saw that there was only one ship, also sailing along the shore almost two leagues ahead of us.

We prepared what arms we had in order to grapple with her if we could, and then she turned towards us and each tried to get to windward of the other, but she succeeded, being a large ship and better able to keep close to the wind, and she was soon at a good distance, which showed that she took us for a corsair and fled from us. This must have been as high up as the city of Loanda, in the kingdom of Angola, which we could not see, because the sun rising above the land obstructed our sight, and it was so far off that we could distinguish nothing, though some said that the port was where some mountains were visible.

The land wind fell, and a breeze springing up we set sail for the point where we imagined the city to be, and the pilot did not measure the altitude of the sun that day, presuming that all our troubles were at an end; but in the afternoon as we came nearer we began to fear that we had passed the port, and we cast anchor that night exceedingly disconsolate, for there was little to eat and less to drink, which was what we felt most, as we were scorched by the burning heat of the sun. At daybreak we set sail again, still going forward, for it seemed unlikely that we should have come so far, and also because some sailors who had been in Angola asserted that it was impossible to pass without seeing the city and the ships that are usually near the island, which is a very low lying land.

The next day there were even some who saw the city and other signs, though all lay behind us. The sky was so overcast that day that it was impossible to take the altitude of the sun, neither could we reach the city so desired, and therefore we cast anchor again in order not to leave the coast, and also because the wind which served us fell at sunset. The next day we pursued our course again very sorrowfully, and saw a ship, but for all our signals, and though we steered towards her, she would not come near us. Then the pilot measured the altitude of the sun, and we found we were in a little more than six degrees, which plunged us all into despair, for to crown our misery we had passed the port, and it seemed impossible to reach it again except after many days, for as we were in the trade winds so

that it was difficult to turn back except by tacking, to put out to sea when we had nothing to eat but a handful of rice and less than a pint of water was a great affliction.

But the virgin of the Nativity, who had the vessel under her protection, permitted that we should not advance farther than within six or seven leagues from the mouth of a river which the natives call the wonderful Zaire, and which flows so impetuously that fresh water is found fifty leagues out to sea, and in twenty-four hours it would have carried us where we must all have perished of hunger and thirst and not one have been left to tell the tale. And her pity and infinite clemency was pleased to put an end to our miseries by one of the most signal mercies vouchsafed to us in the course of our affliction, by sending a thunderstorm, a thing unheard of in these regions, which brought us to anchor in two days at the mouth of the river Bengo, on Saturday, the eve of Palm Sunday, forty-eight days from the time we came out of the river on the shore.

Having arrived before Angola, I sent the governor a letter which I had prepared, for I was determined to run ashore and send him word by land that I was there with his Majesty's letters and other property, and there were great difficulties in the way of my setting out again, the chief of which were that we had not a drop of water to drink and no provisions whatever, and we did not know if this was a land of friends. The governor replied by hastening to our assistance with water and provisions, which rejoiced us more than anything, for we had had none for two days.

When we had landed, the governor with the council of the treasury decided that the jewels should be deposited in the college of the Company of Jesus, in a coffer with three keys, one to be kept by the father rector of the said college, one by the bishop of Congo and Angola, and the third by the superintendent of the treasury. All of which was done according to the entry I had ordered to be made in the book of his Majesty, in the presence of the governor, bishop, factor, and notary of the factory; and each of the ship's officers in this manner gave up what he had in his keeping, the closed packages with their seals and numbers and the sealed packets of rough diamonds, nothing having been lacking on my part perfectly and punctually to assure to his Majesty the royal dues.

The governor Francisco de Vasconcellos da Cunha then endeavoured to alleviate the misery of the people, ordering quarters to be found for them. And the bishop Dom Francisco de Soveral acted very charitably, clothing most of the poor wretches who were naked and entertaining those of higher rank in his house like the holy and virtuous prelate he is. Some of this also fell to my share, for the governor knowing the necessity I was in granted me eight hundred cruzados towards my expenses in preparing to reach this kingdom, where a few months before I expected to find myself with nearly forty thousand cruzados, as is well known to the men of my ship.

The governor equipped a caravel for me, in which to leave, and on the 5th of May I sailed for Bahia, where I arrived in twenty-six days, taking with me his Majesty's letters and those of the governor of Angola giving an account of the property aforesaid. Upon this passage I had also in my company the master, pilot, boatswain's mate, notary, rope-maker, and twenty odd seamen, for some went to Rio de Janeiro, some to Carthagena, and others remained at Angola.

At Bahia as there was no fleet the governor Pedro da Silva bade me choose one of three ships which were loading for this kingdom. Setting out on the 11th of July, during the third watch we came so close upon three Dutch ships that if they had seen us first none of our vessels would have escaped, but as it was each had time to steer what course she chose, and my caravel did so with such good fortune that at daybreak we were more than a gunshot to windward of them, and only one ship of our company was in sight; but she chose another course, and we soon lost sight of her also.

Pursuing our course, sixty leagues from that coast during the morning watch we saw another ship to windward of us, but so close that she thought us hers, and would not fire on us, but rather drew towards us, displaying a square flag. When she was within musket shot of us we sailed forward and got in a line with her, so that we had little fear of her artillery, and crowding on all sail we happily escaped; and after a prosperous passage of forty-eight days we anchored at Peniche on the feast of St. Augustine.

We expected to find some of the ships which sailed with us already arrived, but up to the present there have been no tidings

of them, by which God was pleased to confirm the great mercies He showed me during the whole course of this shipwreck, bringing me to Portugal, and not only assisting me in such terrible storms and certain dangers, but also delivering me from the many enemies who at present infest these seas.

I delivered his Majesty's letters to Francisco de Lucena by order of our lady Princess, and into her own hands that of the governor of Angola with the account of the property left there. I was moved to take this measure because of the profit which would accrue to the royal revenues and to ensure the safety of the property, for when we found ourselves wrecked the seamen remonstrated, saying that the profit should be for all in general, and not only for the officers who carried it, since all had laboured equally to save and defend it, and that therefore I should order it to be divided. To this end they addressed many demands and petitions to me, and sometimes refused to work until their claim should be satisfied, and I, overcoming this as best I could and persuading them that we should all have a third part for our pains, did as I have related.

But now I see that many of them foresaw the want of gratitude shown by the owners for this great benefit, for they pretend to regard this shipwreck as if it had happened on the coast of Spain or friendly lands, though the running ashore was the least of our dangers; and did they but consider how many we endured they would understand that we bestowed their property upon them anew, which I hope all will recognise. And likewise the ministers of his Catholic Majesty for the reward of what we added to the revenue, for are not the difficulties which I overcame in such a brief space unheard of until now, that two vessels should be built with such lack of necessary materials in such a short time, in a land of barbarians, and in them we should come through such great and successive hardships as those through which I reached the kingdom of Angola, to which God brought me.

LAUS DEO.

RELAÇAM
DO NAVFRAGIO

QUE FIZERÃO AS NAOS SACRAMENTO, & NOSSA SENHORA DA
ATALAYA, VINDO DA INDIA PARA O REYNO, NO CABO DE
BOA ESPERANÇA; DE QUE ERA CAPITÃO MOR LUIS
DE MIRANDA HENRIQUES, NO ANNO DE 1647.

OFFERECEA A MAGESTADE
DELREY DOM JOAM O IV
NOSSO SENHOR.

BENTO TEYXEYRA FEYO.

EM LISBOA.
COM TODAS AS LICENÇAS NECESSARIAS.
IMPRESSA NA OFFICINA DE PAULO CRAESBEECK.
No ANNO DE 1650.

NAVFRAGIO

QUE FIZERÃO AS DUAS NAOS DA INDIA :

O SACRAMENTO, & NOSSA SENHORA DA ATALAYA, NO CABO
DE BOA ESPERANÇA, NO ANNO DE 1647.

Reynando no Estado da India o muyto alto, & muyto poderoso Rey D. João o IV deste nome, Rey de Portugal nosso Senhor, cuja vida, & estado Deos prospere os annos, que seus vassallos havemos mister, & sendo Viso-Rey nelle D. Felipe Mascarenhas, partirão de Goa para Portugal hũa quarta feyra vinte de Fevereiro do anno de 1647 duas Náos; a Capitania o Galeão Sacramento, Capitão Mør Luis de Miranda Henriquez, & a Náo nossa Senhora da Atalaya Almiranta, Capitão Antonio da Camara de Noronha. Dos quaes se veyo despedir o Viso-Rey a bordo, mandando desamarrar hũa manhã tão cedo, quão tarde do tempo, aprestando os officiaes todas as cousas necessarias, desfraldando velas, largou primeyro a Capitania o traquete, & cevadeyra, & da outra parte a Almiranta, havendo a bordo muytas embarcações de amigos, e parentes, cuja saudade acrescentava o sentimento, tanto quanto a despedida em tão largo apartamento era bastante causa, & assim a voltas de sentidas lagrimas, dando boa viagem nos partimos como terral, que durou tres horas, entrando a viração escaça correndo a costa pelo Noroeste, & alargando o vento de noyte, voltamos á nossa derrota com ventos bonançosos atè altura de dez graos, & hum terço do Norte, em que hum Sabbado ao amanhecer, dous de Março largou a Capitania bandeyra, de que logo houvemos vista, & de hũa vela, a que ella ficando mais perto atirou duas peças sem bala obrigando-a a amaynar, & lançar o batel fora, em que lhe mandou meter o Capitão Mør a Manoel Luis seu estrinqueyro, com gente, & atravessando todos tres, nos detivemos em sua

companhia quatro dias, com suas noytes, intentando neste tempo o Capitão Mor que esta embarcação fosse perdida, não obstante trazer cartas do Viso-Rey, & ser do Rey de Mucelapatão, de quem o Estado da India recebe serviços de consideração, soccorrendo a Ceylão nos apertos, & fomes, que se offerecêrão naquella Ilha, o que não aprovárão o Capitão, officiaes, & cavalleyros da Náo Atalaya, sendo consultados na materia, antes derão razões, porque à tal embarcação se devia toda a boa passagem, com o que a deyxamos terça feyra sinco de Março: nos dias, que aqui nos teve sem velejar, avaliárão os homens, que bem entendião do mar, se perdèra a viagem, o que depois experimentamos na falta de tempo para chegar a passar o Cabo da Boa Esperança.

Na Náo em que me embarquey tomárão os Religiosos á sua conta cantarem todos os dias as Ladainhas, dizer Missa, & pregações os Domingos, & dias Santos, & João da Cruz Guardião da Náo fez hum sepulchro muy curioso, em que tivemos o Senhor exposto vinte & quatro horas confessando, & cõmungando todos á quinta feyra Mayor.

Aos doze de Março chegamos á falla com a Capitania por causa de sabermos o sinal, que havia feyto com tres peças, achamos ser falecido o Inquisidor Antonio de Faria Machado, que na India o fora dezasete annos, de cujo procedimento, & authoridade se teve muyta satisfação, & o sentimos, & a falta de outras pessoas, que de Goa sahirão doentes, ficando muytos fidalgos, & pessoas nobres, que com seu valor, & trabalho ajudárão depois á salvação dos que escapamos tanto à custa de sua vida.

Com grandes chuvas, & calmarias navegamos depois de passada a linha, quando da gavea a grandes brados, disse o gajeyro; Hũa vela. Esta era o Galeão S. Pedro, que partindo de Goa quinze dias depois, se encontrou comnosco, & nos acompanhou vinte dias, apartando-se no fim delles.

Ao de Pascoa dezanove de Abril mandou o Almirante salvar o Galeão Sacramento com sete peças, abrindo logo a Náo quatro palmos de agua, que os escravos, & grumetes esgotavão duas vezes no dia, o que dava cuydado a quem entendia o perigo, a que hiamos expostos, assim por ser a Náo velha, como por irmos cometer o Cabo no rigor do inverno, em que os temporaes são tantos, & de maneyra, que ás embarçaçoens novas dão grandissimo trabalho.

Em dez de Junho, em altura já de trinta & tres graos do Sul,

com vento bonança nos rendeo o mastareo grande de que avizamos a Capitania, & da agua que fazia a Náo, pedindo-lhe conservassemos a companhia ordenandose-lhe hũa semente para concerto do mastareo, & por o vento refrescar, não ouve effeyto, nem depois lugar pelo que sobreveyo.

Em doze de Junho anoytecemos com a Capitania, acalmando o vento antes de se pòr o Sol, indo na volta da terra com o vento Oesnoroeste, metendo-se muy vermelho com nuvês negras, & carregadas, fuzilando hũa so vez, & se vio hum peyxe Orelhão, cousa grande, anuncios tudo de huma noyte temerosa. Entrou o vento assoprando, ferrarão-se as gaveas, & cevadeyra, ficando a Náo em papafigos aguarruchados o quartinho, & quarto da prima; no fim delle ao pòr da Lua, empolou o mar, & cresceo o vento de modo, que deu a Náo hum balanço tão grande, que meteo muyto mar dentro, & as entenas, & serviolas debayxo da agua. Mandou-se arriar a escota, & ostagas para vir a verga grande abayxo, mas com o temor do mar, & tempo tão crescido, & pouca experiencia dos artilheyros, arriarão de maneyra, que tomando o pano de luva atravessou a Náo com hum furacão tão forte, que nos levou a vela grande, & traquete fazendo tudo em pedaços com tal estrondo, que julgamos çoçobrar-se a Náo, tendo-a adornada por muyto espaço, & atravessada assim ao rigor dos mares sem nos podermos sustentar em pé na xareta com a pouca gente, que a este tempo se achou, sendo já mortos de doença oyto marinheyros, sinco artilheyros, quatro grumetes, & outros passageiros, se acodio com grande cuydado a hũa moneta, que traziamos já cozida na enxarcia de proa, para este effeyto, & preparando-a governou logo a Náo na volta delles, ficando a verga grande arriada a meya arvore com a vela de lais a lais em pedaços, & a do traquete dando òs estendartes, que ficárão pegados no gurutil, estrallos, sem se poderem cortar, nem o tempo o consentir. Neste estado passamos o restante da noyte atormentandose a Náo com as pancadas das vergas, puxando por todos os ossos abrio dez palmos de agua, correndo como mesmo temporal nos amanheceo dia de Santo Antonio destroçados de velas, & cabos sem a companhia da Capitania, aparelhandonos para a seguinte noyte, que nos ameaçava tão medonha, como a passada, & com chuveiros de pedra tão grossa como avelãs, & muytos trovões, & rayos.

Sendo o tempo ainda tanto, & correndo a Náo em popa fomos gafando, & tirando o pano, que ficou na verga metendo huma

cevadeyra na do traquete, para se o vento fosse menos, poder a Náo governar, & fugir aos mares, que parecião querer çoçobrarnos. Este dia se passou, & ao outro, sendo já mais bonança, metemos outro pano, não largando as bombas da mão, com que avistamos terra de trinta & dous graos a cabo de algũs dias, que velejamos em demanda della, dizendo-se que á sua sombra se trataria do concerto, & tomar as aguas da Náo, porem só se tratou de pescar, não faltando algum zeloso, que clamou sobre o descuydo, que houve neste particular.

O Mestre Jacinto Antonio, considerando o estado, em que nos achavamos, & pouco remedio, que havia, lhe pareceo acertado arribar a Moçambique em quanto o tempo nos não impossibilitava de todo, aonde se seguraria o cabedal, & artilharia de Sua Magestade, & remedio de tantos: o que se divulgou logo, pedindo Dom Duarte Lobo ao Mestre, que indo abayxo ver o estado da Náo, de que se fallava variamente, o levassem com os mais officiaes para resolução do que mais conviesses, o que não satisfez a muytos pelos empenhos, que trazião, & pouca canela, que se lhe deu em Goa, intimidando ao Mestre, & aos mais, que tratavão de arribar: de modo que senão tratou mais, que de navegar para Portugal ás voltas; em que andamos alguns dias multiplicando a altura para o Cabo, não cessando as bombas de laborar, a que acodiamos todos sem exceção de pessoa atè os proprios Religiosos.

Pelo que se prepararão algũs barris para gamotes fazendose-lhe arças, & çafando a boca do porão para hũa casimba, valeo pouco a diligencia por causa da arrumação da artelharia que se fez em Goa, não vir em forma, deyxando porem na boca da escotilha quatro peças, havendo grande murmuração que a Náo trazia rebentadas muytas curvas, & pès de carneyro fora de seu lugar, tratarão de que indo a menos altura acharião mais bonanças, com que se tomarião algũas aguas, sobre que o Mestre, & mais officiaes com o Almirante forão abayxo, sem levar D. Duarte Lobo, como o havia pedido, & tornando assima com tres prégos do forro na mão, disse o Mestre que a Náo estava para poder ir a Jerusalem, com que senão tratou mais que da viagem do Reyno, & em pescar, voltando para o mar, sem se obrar mais cousa, que boa fosse para hũa viagem de tanto risco, & trabalho, como a que se intentava.

Tornando com o traquete na volta de terra dia de S. Pedro, &

S. Paulo do jantar para a noyte, mandou o Piloto Gaspar Rodrigues Coelho largar vela de gavia de proa, dizendo-lhe o Sotapiloto Balthezar Rodrigues que estava perto de terra; ao que respondeo que tinha navegado muyto tempo naquella costa, que não havia de que recear, mais do que se vissem ás duas empulhetas do quartinho. Bras da Costa marinheyro, & cunhado do Mestre, que mandava a via na cadeyra gritando alto, com grande ancia: bota arriba Irmãos: alvorotou a Náo por se ver em hum bayxo que está ao mar da Bahia da Lagoa em oyto braças de fundo, que lançando o prumo se achárão, com tanto sentimento de todos, quanto pode julgar facilmente quem se vio em semelhante perigo. Com grande brevidade mareamos largando a vela de gavia grande, içando, & caçando mais de doze vezes, a que acodirão officiaes com os mais sem faltar pessoa a sua obrigação. O Sotapiloto Balthezar Rodrigues, que neste passo o não perdeo, gritou do prepao, donde mandava a via com muyto acordo, que o não arrecessem, que elle tiraria a Náo por onde entrára com ella, & rebentando o mar por todas as partes trabalhou a Náo, como que vinha debayxo, infinito, & achando-a atravessada deu três balanços juntos, a cujo grande abalo foy a grita de maneyra que o mundo nos pareceo se acabava, & cousumia.

O Guardião João da Cruz, que com os grumetes assistia ás bombas, assim afflicto acodio assim, & Deos nosso Senhor com vento terral, com que sahimos para fóra, & como o remedio principal em tanta tribulação estava nas mãos de Deos, & no trabalho das nossas, trabalhámos todos, & os Religiosos de maneyra, que nesta occasião valiamos hum por cento. O Padre Fr. Antonio de São Guilherme da Ordem de Santo Agostinho, que passava a Portugal por Procurador Gèral da sua Congregação, o fez de sorte, que chegando-se a elle neste trance o Padre Fr. Diogo da Apresentação da sua Ordem que o confessasse, lhe respondeo que não era tempo mais que de trabalhar, & indo para o convez ajudarnos cahio por hũa escada com hum dos balanços, que a Náo deu, abrindo a cabeça com hũa grande ferida, de que apertando-a com hum lenço não fez caso, senão passado o trabalho.

Avia-se a tarde antes tirado hũa esmola ao Santo Christo do Carmo de Lisboa, & vendo algũas pessoas a Náo em tanto trabalho, & afflicção, perdida a esperanza da vida, & posta só em

Deos, que a sostinha, & he a confiança de todos, gritarão em altas vozes. Alegria Irmãos, que agora se vio na gavea a nossa Senhora com hũa luz, como coroa, de grande resplendor, recreceo então geralmente tanto animo, & esforço, que não havia já que temerse a morte. Desta maneyra passamos a noyte, ficando a Náo tão desconjuntada deste trabalho, que não havia parte por onde não fizesse agua, acodindo todos ás bombas, achamos fazer muyta mais, ajudando a isso o grande temporal, que nos entrou o dia seguinte, com que corremos com o papafigo da proa, sendo o mar tão grande, & os grandes balanços, que a Náo dava que cada hora esperavamos se abrisse pelo meyo, lançando o mar por sima do farol, & das arvores tanta agua, que foy necessario revezarem-se os Padres por horas na popa benzendo os mares, & se se descuydavão algũa vez, logo nos encapelavão de maneyra, que o Sotapiloto, que estava á cadeyra, se vio afogado com hum mar, gritando que lhe acudissem, vendo-se só por todos estarmos occupados nas bombas; com o trabalho das quaes já os corpos não podião, a que não faltarão já mais os Religiosos, & passageiros, que tinhamos à nossa conta, por sermos poucos, à bomba de estibordo, & à de bombordo os grumetes de dia, & os cañres á de roda em que Dom Duarte Lobo, & Dom Sebastião Lobo da Sylveira assistião de dia, & noyte, desde treze de Junho, que começou o trabalho della, ajudando com doces, & mimos aos que trabalhavão, porque como faltava o fogão, tudo era necessario, & nada bastava. A bomba de roda nos dava grande trabalho, & cuydado porque nos faltavão os fuzis cada hora.

Ordenou-se assistirem os cañres á bomba aos quartos de noyte, o que se não executou, assistindo só os dous calafates, que vendo o quanto a agua crescia, avizarão por vezes do perigo, em que nos achavamos, a que se deu por ordem não amotinassem a Náo. Em amanhecendo se abriu a escotilha grande, & se achou agua por cima do lastro, armarão-se logo os gamotes com grande diligencia para se encherem com selhas, & se escusarão, porque em menos de duas horas cresceo a agua tanto, que com os balanços se enchião os barris por si, & as pipas do porão se forão arrombando, & os payoes da pimenta, de maneyra, que de todo cessarão as bombas intupindo-se com a pimenta, laborando só na escutilha grande dous barris de quatro almudes, & dous de seis, com que de continuo se trabalhava ao cabrestante, & á rè do mastro grande, aonde abrimos hum escotilhão com dous gamotes,

por sahir mais pimenta, que agua. Com este trabalho, & a Náo já afocinhada toda sobre a proa, como estava alquibrada, não governava, como de antes, com a agua já por cima da barçola, & a proa de sobre a cuberta do porão mais de dous palmos. Neste perigo tão evidente, passamos dous dias com duas noytes sem ver terra, que descobrimos em amanhecendo hũa ponta de recifes com muyto arvoredado, que pareceo ser de hum rio com hũa praya de area muyto comprida, & hũa enceeda grande, que julgamos se sahiria a ella do batel a pè enxuto.

Assentou-se em conselho, visto o estado da Náo, se fosse buscar a terra, que se via, lançando ao mar a artilharia, que sempre veyo abocada, salvo a da Cuina, que vinha ao porão, o que não houve effeyto por não poderem os corpos aturar o trabalho, & so forão ao mar duas peças. Com vento bonança, ainda que o mar picado se largou vela de gavea grande, a qual indo a caçala se fez em pedaços, & o mesmo a de proa, levando a cevadeyra toda rota, & o traquete com muytas costuras descozidas, mareamos com a vela grande, que ao habitala na ámura, passando-lhe talha em ajuda se despedaçou.

A este tempo já o Almirante ordenava ao Condestable Francisco Teyxeyra embarrilasse alguma polvora, & balas, juntando as armas, que achasse, & todo o cobre, & bronze, que ouvesse para sustento do arrayal, por ser este o dinheyro que corre nesta Cafraria, & porque se resgata o necessario. A noyte se passou com o trabalho dos gamotes, os Cafres já em terra com grandes fogos, & ao outro dia pela manhã tres de Julho se entendeo em preparar o batel para lançar gente em terra, dando o mar lugar. Entrou a viração, & picando a amarra com o traquete chegamos a dar fundo em sete braças na enseada, & o Mestre mandou cortar as ostagas grandes, & ficou a verga atravessada no meyo do convès, para que cortando-se servisse de levar algũa gente.

Botou-se o batel ao mar com ordem, que fosse algũa gente, armas, & mantimento a tomar sitio, & os mais ficarão dando aos gamotes, sustentando a Náo, & chegando o batel á pancada do mar por correr a agua muyto, & ser já tarde, não se atreveo lançar nada em terra, tornou logo a bordo, dizendo, que o mar não dèra jazigo, & tinha hum banco grande, & á terra delle hum lagamar, para que corria a agua muyto. Veyo anoytecendo, & bayxado a marè começou a Náo a tocar, & lançar o leme fóra pela meya

noyte, pelo que cortamos a arvore grande, & traquete, dando-se fundo a outra ancora por não desgarrar, & ao virar com a marè ficamos em oyto braças.

Amanheceo quarta feyra, quatro de Julho, & ajuntando-se todos os cabos delgados se fez delles huma espia, que se colheo dentro no batel, & com a gente necessaria, armas, & o que pudèrão levar de mão, deyxando hũa ponta da espia na Náo, remárão para terra, & chegando à pancada do mar, era tão grande o macareo, que o Padre Fr. Diogo da Apresentação, que hia no batel absolveo a todos, dando cada hum materia em publico pelo grande aperto.

Chegarão a terra, & sem impedimento dos Cafres, que não parecêrão, botarão em terra o que levavão, & tornando a bordo fez segunda viagem com D. Barbora, & Joanna do Espirito Santo Portuguezas, que se embarcárão, com todas as negras que levavamos, & o Almirante, & D. Sebastião Lobo, & outras pessoas, ficando D. Duarte Lobo, & o Padre Fr. Antonio de S. Guilherme na Náo com os officiaes, & eu, que não quizemos largar este fidalgo, por mais, quo nos rogou, que nos embarcassemos, andando todos pasmados, porque os que prestavão para o trabalho hũs andavão no batel, outros ficárão em terra para defensa do que se desembarcava ajudando aos que hião no batel, porque os mais que ficárão a bordo não atinárão a fazer hũa jangada, nem a embarcar quatro fardos de arroz, havendo na xareta mais de mil, & muytas cousas de comer, de que não chegarão a terra mais que trinta fardos, & esses molhados. Neste dia fez o batel quatro viagens á terra, & na ultima sendo já quasi noyte se embarcou Dom Duarte com os officiaes, a rogo de todos, & com elle o Padre Fr. Antonio, & o Padre Francisco Pereyra, que foy da Companhia de Jesu, não consentindo se metesse mais no batel, que gente, & vindo ella crescendo, & os escravos, chamamos pelo Padre Capelão, o qual não quiz sahir, dizendo ficava com aquelles irmãos acompanhando-os, por quanto a noyte prometia ser trabalhosa, nem haver pessoa, que ficasse a bordo fazendo trabalhar nos gamotes. Nesta batellada nos embarcamos setenta pessoas, & chegando a terra trabalhosamente, alagado o batel atè a borda, de que ainda algũs nadamos.

Aquella noyte ficou o batel encalhado, & os da Náo passárão com grande trabalho, & pela manhã sinco de Julho se embarcárão Bras da Costa, & Paulo de Barros com a mais gente, que

andava no batel, que estes dous marinheyros sós assistirão sempre nelle com grande risco, & trabalho, que os mais se revesavão. Muytos largando a praya se tornavão a bordo, por ter la que comer, o que lhe faltava em terra. A primeyra batelada se fez a salvamento pela espia, a segunda entrando a viração cedo, empolou o mar, & tornando de bordo para a terra, por mais que os que estavam já no batel o defendião, se lançou muyta gente a elle, carregando-o, & largando para fóra indo já hum espaço da Náo hum China de D. Sebastião Lobo, que ficava a bordo cortou com hum machado a espia, que estava dada na serviola, com que chegando o batel à pancada do mar, não tendo rogeyra, que o indireytasse, atravessou de maneyra, que se alagou com setenta pessoas, que trazia dos quaes sincoenta morrérão afogados sem lhe podermos valer os que estavamos em terra alando a batel para ella onde chegou com grande trabalho todo descozido, & os que escapárão, sem o mar lançar nada do muito, que se embarcou a bordo.

A sexta feyra mandou o Almirante concertar o batel, & dando quinhentos xerafins a quem tornasse nelle á Náo buscar a gente que ficava, não se atreueo ninguem por o mar ser grande, & mayor o terror do successo do dia de antes. Os que estavam a bordo causavão hum lastimoso espectaculo com gritos, & clamores, que fazião ao Ceo, que com ser de longe erão taes, que nos davão bem que sentir aos que estavamos na praya, & por na Náo não haver já mais reparo, que do mastro grande à rè, & o mais estar cuberto do mar, & perderem as esperanças do batel, se lançárão muytos á agua em pãos, em que alguns sahirão a terra, & os mais perecérão havendo a noyte antes disparado hũa peça para lhe acodirem.

A noyte seguinte da sexta para o Sabbado sahirão algũs negros nossos a terra, dizendo, que ainda estava na Náo gente branca sem mais reparo, que hum paynel da popa, em que estava a Imagem de nossa Senhora da Atalaya, porém de madrugada se acabou de fazer toda em pedaços, não sahindo de toda ella em terra mais que hum quartel piqueno inteyro, & o mais pào por pào, & algũs cayxões dos que estavam por sima, botou o mar, mas em pedaços. E nisto se resolveo a opulencia de hũa Náo tão poderoso, & aqui se virão muytos nũs, & pobres, que havia bem pouco eramos ricos, & bem vestidos.

O Almirante fez alardo dos que ficamos, que repartio em tres

esquadras, de que tomou para si a dos passageyros, & os marinheyros, & grumetes repartio pelos officiaes, mandando lançar bando, que tudo o que se achasse de comer viesse ao arrayal a monte mayor, para o que nomeou alguns homens, que para este effeyto corressem a praya, prohibindo aos mais sahir do arrayal, que mudamos para dentro do mato, porque na praya, em que sahimos nos cobriamos de area. Fizemos barracas, que he o mesmo, que tendas de panos brancos, em que assistiamos, preparandonos para a jornada, que esperavamos de marchar pela Cafraria atè o Cabo das Correntes. O mantimento, que se achou se poz no arrayal com centinelas. Em onze dias que aqui estivemos, se passarão grandes necessidades de fome, & sede, por falta de mantimentos, & a agua se ir buscar ao Rio do Infante perto de hũa legoa, & tão roim, que nos adoeceo della muyta gente, & morrêrão alli Vicente Lobo de Sequeyra do habito de Christo, natural de Macao, que já nesta paragem se perdêra na Náo S. João, & hum altilheyro por nome Marcos Coelho.

Para os casos que succedessem, se derão por adjuntos ao Almirante, D. Sebastião, & D. Duarte Lobo da Silveyra irmãos, Domingos Borges de Sousa senhor da Villa, & Conselho d'Alva, que do Reyno viera na mesma Náo, os Padres Fr. Antonio de S. Guilherme, & Fr. João da Encarnação, & os officiaes da Náo, & Escrivão João Barbosa, por estar para morrer Francisco Cabrita Freyre. Neste naufragio se achárão tres marinheyros, que havia quatro annos se perdêrão nesta paragem na Naveta, de que foy Capitão D. Luis de Castelbranco, & tinham marchado pela Cafraria até o Cabo das Correntes, & se chamavão Antonio Carvalho da Costa, Paulo de Barros, & Mattheus Martins. Aos primeyros dous se nomeárão para resgatadores do arrayal, & a Aleyxo da Silva, passageyro por feytor. Nesta praya em que sahimos, achamos de marè vazia grande quantidade de ameijoas muyto boas, que ajudarão a passar as fomes, que se padecêrão.

A oyto de Julho foy D. Duarte Lobo com o Sotapiloto Balthazar Rodrigues, Urbano Fialho Ferreyra do habito de Christo, filho de Antonio Fialho Ferreyra, com outras pessoas mais ao Rio do Infante tomar o Sol, & achárão trinta & tres graos, & hum terço, botando hũa ponta de Recife ao Noroeste com muyto arvoredado, a praya de mais de duas legoas de comprido, & a costa com comaros de area branca com arvoredado por cima, & a serra toda escavada. Tomado o Sol se deu rebate de haver

Cafres na praya, a que fizerão esperar por acenos, & chegando à falla, não se achou quem os entendesse por falarem por estalos. Andão nùs, & só cobrem algũas pelles, não usão sementeyras, nem vivem mais que de algũas raizes, caça, & algum marisco, quando decem á praya. As armas são paos tostados, & poucas azagayas de ferro.

Tornados D. Duarte Lobo, & os mais ao arrayal, se repartirão as armas, balas, & polvora, & alguns cocos para a meter, cobre necessario para o resgate, linhas, & arpoeyras para a passagem dos rios, tudo por rol nos livros delRey. O arroz se achou todo ardido, & podre, com o que se appressou mais a partida, deyxando enterrado o cobre, & polvora que sobejou.

Nos dias que aqui estivemos tratou o Almirante com o Piloto Gaspar Rodrigues Coelho, & o Escrivão Francisco Cabrita Freyre, & outros doentes, & impossibilitados para marchar, que se quizessem lhes mandaria preparar o batel, & dar gente, que mareasse, que o Piloto não quiz aceytar, & assim se não tratou mais disso, sendo o que mais convinha para não perecerem estas pessoas, & as mulheres, & doentes, como adiante se verá.

D. Sebastião Lobo da Silveyra era tão incapaz para marchar por ser muyto pezado de gordura, & outros achaques, que lhe impedião andar poucos passos por seu pè, pelo que pedio aos grumetes, e officiaes, que o persuadissem, & por via de seu irmão D. Duarte Lobo, que de todos era bem quisto, se veyo a concertar, que o acarretarião em hũa rede, que se fez de linhas de pescar, dando a cada grumete oitocentos xerafins, a que se obrigou D. Duarte Lobo, & elle deu penhores de ouro. Era este fidalgo tambem doente, & no arrayal o tivemos á morte, & assim ordenada a rede com os seus negros, & dous mais que comprou, intentou passar a jornada. O mesmo emprendérão Domingos Borges de Sousa, que fez de hũa alcatifa hum andor, & Francisco Cabrita outro de hum pano, servindo-lhe de canas os remos do batel, que o carpinteyro affeyçoou. O Piloto com duas muletas, & os mais como lhes permitião seus achaques, os saons com suas armas, & todos com seus alforjes, em que cada hum carregava o seu resgate de cobre, & roupa para sua limpeza.

Mais tempo era necessario para descansar do trabalho passado, & tomar alento para os que nos esperavão, mas a falta de mantimento, & a malignidade do sitio, nos appressou a partir segunda feyra quinze de Julho pela manhã, depois de rezarem todos hũa

Ladainha a nossa Senhora. Não se póde reduzir a brevidade o sentimento, & lagrimas, com que se deu principio a esta tragedia tão lastimosa, ficando alli por causa de feridas, com que sahirão á praya hum Cafre do Contramestre Manoel de Sousa, hum meu cabrinha, & hũa negrinha do Condestable Francisco Teyxeyra, que morreo afogado vindo no batel para terra.

Começamos a marchar, levando o Almirante a dianteyra, & o Mestre Jacinto Antonio a vanguarda, & o Contramestre a retaguarda, começando a sentir lastimas, & miserias dos doentes, & incapazes de acompanhar o arrayal, julgando do principio o que seria ao diante. Á nossa vista, tendo marchado menos de hũa legoa pela praya, se deyxou ficar Bertholameu Pereyra Loreto marinheyro de cansado, a quem os Cafres que já vinhão em nosso seguimento, matárão logo, sem se lhe poder valer. Dahi mais a diante os mesmos Cafres tomárão a D. Barbora os alforjes, que trazia às costas com o seu resgate de cobre, & mantimento, que lhe coube, & huma muttra de diamantes, que escapou, & a não lhe acodir a retaguarda apressadamente, a matarião, como ao Loreto, & por não poder acompanharnos a tomou Antonio Carvalho da Costa marinheyro ás costas, & a trouxe até noyte. A Portugueza Beata Joanna do Espirito Santo deu tambem grande molestia, & os mais doentes. Com tudo chegamos a assentar o arrayal em hum recife junto ao mar aonde achamos hũa fonte de muyto boa agua, não podendo o Piloto chegar a ella ficou atraz hum tiro de espingarda, & pedindo confissão lhe acodirão os Padres com muyta charidade, & ao Escrivão, que chegou á noyte bem tarde esperando, & ahi passamos esta noyte.

A terça feyra dezaseis de Julho, chamou o Almirante a conselho, para assentar o termo, que se havia de ter com as mulheres, & pessoas impossibilitadas, que nos impedião o caminhar com a brevidade necessaria para chegar a terra de resgate, porque os grãos de arroz, com que sahimos donde nos perdemos, erão tão poucos, que não passavão de duas medidas cada pessoa, & segundo affirmavão os que havião passado já aquelle caminho, não se podia achar resgate em menos de hum mez, & bem altercado se resolveo, que visto o estado, em que nos viamos, & o Piloto, & Escrivão, D. Barbora, & Joanna do Espirito Santo nos não poderem acompanhar, & por os esperarmos nos expunhamos a perecer todos á fome, se avizasse ás mulheres, que

marchassem diante, não tratando já do Piloto, & Escrivão, que hum delles estava já sem falla, & o outro não estava para nada, & que fossemos por diante deyxando quem senão atrevesse a marchar com o arrayal, de que avizadas as Portuguezas, responderão, que Deos nos acompanhasse, que ellas se não atrevião, nem podião, & assim as deyxamos confessando-se primeyro, & hũa negrinha, que quiz ficar com ellas, & sem cousa algũa de comer.

Nesta occasião esteve D. Sebastião arriscado a ficar, porque os grumetes, que o acarretavão, não podendo aturar o trabalho, se desobrigavão de o trazer, a que acodio D. Duarte Lobo, & com bons termos, & mais interesse alcançou o levassem aos poucos. Aquelle dia marchamos ao longo do mar por recifes, de que sahião muytos ribeyros de agua doce, & passamos algũs rios, que aos não acharmos secos nos causarião dano. Nas prayas se achava algum marisco, mas pouco, & se vião algũs passaros grandes, como pavões. Aqui por o caminho ser roim, & o comer pouco, ou nada se resolvérão os grumetes a deyxar D. Sebastião Lobo, ao que se acodio ordenando-se que se escolhessem de entre todos doze os mais robustos, & os outros que acarretassem o fato destes. Fomos marchando hum dia por caminhos asperos, & estreytos junto ao mar, por onde não cabia mais que hũa pessoa apoz outra fazendo hum alcantilado, & barrocas pela banda da praya, chegamos a hum passo muy arriscado, do qual passamos a hum rio muyto caudaloso, & arrebatado, que passamos com agua por cima do joelho, o qual passado descansamos, & os grumetes tornando a marchar, desepararão a Dom Sebastião Lobo, que não se atrevendo a marchar por seus pès se deyxou ficar. Ao outro dia chegamos a outro rio de muy fresco arvoredado cerrado na boca, em que se achou hum baleato dado á costa na praya, de que cada qual chegamos a cortar seu pedaço para comer, & aquella tarde passamos por muytos lamaraes, & passos trabalhosos, por fim dos quaes sentamos o arrayal junto a hum ribeyro de boa agua.

Achando-se menos D. Sebastião, porque o Almirante, & Dom Duarte, como hião diante não tiverão noticia de o haverem deyxado os grumetes, tratárão com os marinheyros de o irem buscar, & sendo já noyte tornárão atraz duas legoas, & achando-o aonde o havião deyxado, o levarão ao arrayal a que chegou muyto tarde, dizendo em alta voz, que Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveyra não sentia a morte, mas os roins termos, que se tinham com sua

pessoa. Ao outro dia se tratou com os marinheyros quizessem carregar este fidalgo de que os grumetes tinham desistido, sobre que o Almirante fez muytos protestos sobre a grande qualidade deste fidalgo, & se embarcar para o Reyno chamado por Sua Magestade.

Marchamos ao outro dia pouco, & pouco, & quasi hũa legoa achamos o rio de S. Christovão, & para o passar ordenamos duas jangadas por o rio ser caudaloso, de muyto fundo, & grande corrente, & arrebatada, hũa dedicamos a nossa Senhora d'Ajuda, & a outra á do Bom Successo. Aqui se confessou Dom Sebastião, & fez seu testamento desenganado de nos não poder acompanhar dando mostras de muytas joyas, & cousas preciosas de que não havia noticia, offerecendo-as a quem o podesse levar ás costas. Á vista do que, & das persuasões do Mestre Jacinto Antonio a quem para este effeyto deu seis voltas de cadea de ouro, se tratou com dezaseis marinheyros os mais robustos, a quem D. Sebastião entregou logo tudo o que ostentára. Depois de passar o rio, que por ser muyto arrebatado, & não dar lugar a barquear as jangadas se não na bayxamar, se não pode naquelle dia, & ao outro dezanove de Julho, o acabamos de passar deyxando afogado hum Cafre nosso, a que a corrente levou, & hum marinheyro Antonio da Sylva doente, que se não atreveo a marchar. E aos vinte de Julho concluirão os marinheyros de levarem os dezaseis a D. Sebastião Lobo.

Passado o Rio fomos marchando pela praya, por caminhos estreytos, & chegando a hũa fonte, se deyxou ficar Philippe Romão, hum passageyro vindo do Reyno na propria Náo, que era casado em Lisboa, & fora Estribeyro da Princesa Margarita, por nos não poder seguir por doente, & tambem se tinha já ficado Lourenço Rodrigues Escudeyro de Dom Duarte Lobo, & casado em Alfama, por não poder marchar tanto, havendo-o atè alli feyto com duas muletas, & dizendo-lhe seu amo, passando por elle, que se alentasse, lhe respondeo, que Deos o ajudasse, & levasse ante os olhos da senhora Dona Leonor sua mulher, que elle senão achava com forças, nem animo para os seguir. O Padre Fr. Antonio de São Guilherme tambem o animou, mas elle persistio em sua determinação, & indo o Padre já apartado hum pouco, o tornou a chamar, o qual cuydando que era para algũa reconciliação, tornou a ouvir o que lhe queria, & elle lhe disse: Padre Fr. Antonio, já que se vay, façame mercè de hũa vez de

tabaco, & Deos o acompanhe, & ficára muyto consolado se me fizerão hũa cova nesta area para me meter nella. Marchando aquelle dia tres legoas passamos hum rio de grande corrente com agua pela cinta, & ao outro dia tendo andado hũa legoa, chegamos a outro rio, que passamos de baixamar com agua pelos peytos, depois do qual achamos melhor caminho, mas despovoado, aparecendo sómente algũs Cafres caçadores, que não querião chegar á falla comnosco. Neste caminho achamos boas aguas, algumas palmeyras bravas, & pequenas, os palmitos das quaes tirados com trabalho erão alivio, sendo a fome já geral. Neste dia avistamos algũas palhotas com Cafres, que em nos vendo se puserão a fugir, & entrando nellas se achárão dous polvos, & poucos grãos de milho. Ao diante encontramos dous Cafres, a quem, por se chegarem á falla, demos duas fechaduras de escritorio a cada hum sua, que são as joyas que os barbaros desta Cafraria mais estimão; & perguntando-lhe por resgate, responderão por acenos, que mais adiante se acharia.

A vinte & hum de Julho, marchando apressadamente obrigados da fome, & sem ordem na marcha por irmos já muy fracos, sahirão dous barbaros do mato, & achando a Felicio Gomes marinheyro, apartado dos mais, lhe levarão a mochilla, & hum jarro de latão, que lhe achárão na mão, & se lhe acodio com brevidade, mas não aproveytou, porque estes Cafres fazendo seu assalto, não ha quem lhes dê alcance. Chegando a hum alto, queymamos hũas palhotas, não achando dentro mais que hũas panelas de barro vazias. O que feyto alcançamos o arrayal já assentado perto de hum rio, & todos muy tristes pela resolução, que os que trazião a D. Sebastião tomarão de o deyxar por se acharem faltos de forças, & elle desenganado, & deliberado a se ficar tratou primeyro de tudo de se tornar a confessar, & dando aos que atè alli o trouxerão hum anel de hum rubim a cada hum, dispondo do mais, se despojou atè de hũa Cruz de tambaca com reliquias, que trazia ao pescoço, & hũa caldeyrinha de cobre, sem cousa de comer pelo não haver, & todos se despedirão delle com o sentimento devido, ficando debayxo de hũa pequena barracasinha de pano, gordo, & bem disposto, & com todas suas forças, por não se atrever a marchar a pè, & com elle hum China pequeno, & hum Cafre, que foy de Domingos Borges de Sousa. D. Duarte Lobo seu irmão ficou com elle hum grande espaço, mostrando D. Sebastião neste trance tão grande paciencia, & bom animo,

que se perseverou se póde piadosamente ter por certa sua salvação. Sahidos dalli chegamos a passar outro rio com agua pelos peytos na bayxamar, & dahi por diante parecia a terra mais fresca com algũas boninas, ortigas, & sarralhas, a que muytos obrigados da fome se lançarão de boa vontade assim cruas, como as achavão. Passando dous rios secos chegamos a hum, que vadeamos com agua pela cinta, dando dalli em serras de terra fora, das quaes entramos em hum bosque, em que se achou hum ribeyro, & aqui fizemos noyte, tornando a marchar pela manhã pela praya, passamos tres rios secos, & outro, que para o passar foy necessario fazer huma jangada, que se offereceo a nossa Senhora do Soccorro, em que passamos, & o fato, vindo a nòs alguns Cafres com quatro peyxes, que lhe resgatamos, dando a entender que perto dalli ficava o resgate. Ao seguinte dia de Santiago marchando pelo praya, nos metemos por hum bosque, á causa de muytos recifes, que não podemos vencer, de matos espessos, em que achamos armadilhas, & covas para elefantes, & em hum alto sinco palhotas redondas, & abobodadas á feyção de hum forno, em que se não achou nada, marchando adiante, & passados quatro rios secos, fizemos alto em hum caudaloso, & arrebatado para ordenar jangada, em que o passassemos, ao outro dia de Santa Anna, aonde achamos algũs mortinhos verdes, achando-se por ditoso quem alcançava delles, & outros de hũas favas, com que derão na praya, de que os que comerão estiverão à morte.

Sabbado 27 de Julho passado o rio, marchamos por hum bosque, de que sahindo à praya houverão alguns vista de fogo em hum alto, & indo tres homens a ver o que era, tornárão pedindo alviçaras que havia vacas, pelo que com grande alegria, & devoção rezamos hũa Ladainha a nossa Senhora. Decérão logo os Cafres em grande numero, & entre elles hum que fallava Portugues, & se chamava João, que ficou por alli da Náo Belem, & se deu logo a conhecer, & os mais fallavão por estallos, & trazião hũas pelles, com que se cobrião pelas costas, & o mais corpo nũ, assim homens como mulheres, que so se differençavão, em trazerem as mulheres a cabeça cuberta com barretes do mesmo couro, neste sitio resgatamos neste, & no outro dia dez vacas, que se matarão, & comerão, com resgate franco para todas as vacas, que quizessemos comprar, o que os nossos resgatadores não consentirão, dizendo, que dalli por diante todos os dias se

acharia resgate. Pedio o Almirante ao Cafre João que quizesse vir em nossa companhia com grandes promessas, mas elle desculpando-se com ser cazado, se ficou, & nos marchamos pela praya, á segunda feyra nos sahio o Cafre João, & os mais ás frechadas para nos matarem, & roubarem, não ousarão com tudo cometer o arrayal, em que sempre estivemos com boa vigia. Nesta praya deyxamos hum marinheyro, que servira de gageyro casado, & morador á bica de Duarte Bello em Lisboa, confessado por se não atrever a marchar, a que os Cafres despirão á nossa vista, atè o deyxar nù, arrastando-o pela praya, & elle de joelhos, & com as mãos levantadas em meyo de todos lhe não podemos valer, & indo nòs marchando pela praya nos servirão bem de frechadas, porèm Urbano Fialho, & Salvador Pereyra ás arcabuzadas lhes fizerão largar o posto, & dar lugar a caminhar mais livremente por hum caminho aspero, & trabalhoso, de que sahimos por hũas lapas, em que colhemos hum Cafre muyto velho, que alli vivia, de que não soubemos nada de novo. Errando o caminho viemos a hum rio grande, aonde se passou bem roim noyte á causa de grande frio, & falta de agua, & ao outro dia pela manhã esperamos a passar o rio em baixamar a vao com agua pela cintura, vencendo a corrente com grande trabalho, & seguindo novo caminho por recifes tão agudos, que aos que hião calçados molestava muyto, & aos outros rasgava os pès, passando com os socinhos pelas pedras. Sahindo deste trabalho entramos em outro igual de serras ingremes, que parecião ir ao Ceo, donde passamos a hũa ribeyra de agua, em que descançamos, havendo vista de Cafres, que chegarão á falla, & resgatarão sinco peyxes, dando a entender que havia adiante resgate. Aqui se acharão alguns figos, que na India chamão da gralha, mas poucos, & sobindo a huma serra, na decida della fizemos alto para passar a noyte junto a hum ribeyro de agua doce. Ao outro dia mandou o Almirante descobrir terra, & ver se havia algum povoado, ou gado, & monteando assás voltarão os que forão ao arrayal cansados famintos, & sem noticia alguma. Daqui marchamos caminhos pela praya por recifes, em que se mariscou para comer, crù assim como se achava, por quanto a fome escusa guisados. Chegamos dahi a hum rio muyto largo, & de grande corrente, em cuja passagem gastamos tres dias por esperarmos baxamar, & a agua quieta passando com ella por bayxo dos braços, donde fomos descançar a hũa praya, em que

nos custou muyto trabalho achar agua de beber, aonde mariscamos algumas ostras nas lapas, com que se aliviou a fome, por haver sinco dias se não comia nada, & a este rio chamámos de São Domingos, por se achar em sua vespóra. Com trabalho por a fome a fazer peyor, passamos este caminho, até dar em hum monte de terra movediça, tão apique, que por nos valermos das raizes de figueyras bravas, que a natureza alli criou nos servião mais as mãos, que os pès, & para poder passar hũa barroca grande, & alcantillada para o mar fizemos todos a Auto de contrição, porque se se escapava delle abayxo se dava em recifes, & lagês muy agudas. Causou mayor trabalho o Mestre Jacinto Antonio, aquê coube aquelle dia levar a dianteyra, por se adiantar passando hum rio com agua pela cinta, estandonos nòs todos vestindo, com hũa escopeta, & hũa inxò na mão, se levantou hũa voz que o Mestre, & algũa gente que o seguia se apartava, fama que havia dias corria no arrayal, pelo que em seu seguimento se foy a mayor parte do arrayal, ficando D. Duarte Lobo, & seus camaradas, que não sabiamos deste engano, tornamos ao caminho por dentro de hum mato avançando hum serra com menos trabalho, saindo aonde os affligidos que seguião ao Mestre montavão mais mortos, que vivos, a que perguntando por elle nos disserão, que tomára outra subida mais perigosa por não achar sahida pela praya.

Ajuntandonos todos outra vez, & descansando, marchamos até assentar o arrayal junto a hum ribeyro, sendo já tanta a fome, que nem às ervas verdes perdoava, que tal vez se não achavão correndo o Ribeyro muytas vezes por ellas, & comendo as cruas. Pela manhã começamos a marchar, ordenando-se aos resgatadores que fossem sempre diante alternados descobrindo se se achava rasto de resgate, de que Paulo de Barros houve vista de Cafres, de que se não alcançou cousa certa; indo tão desfalecidos, que onde nos sentavamos a descansar; a gatas andavamos buscando ervas, & favas de pès de cabra, sabendo que em as comer nos arriscavamos á morte, por serem peçonhentas.

Mudamos o caminho da praya por ser muyto esteril sem ostra, lapa, nem cangrejo nella, & muy chea de recifes. Entrado pela terra dentro fizemos alto junto a hũa ribeyra de boa agua, aonde achamos palhotas de Cafres, que vendonos se metérão no mato sem querer vir á falla com nosco. Viemos d'aqui a hũa pedreyra cuberta de arvores frescas, com hum charco de agua doce tão

clara, que nos convidou a descansar, aonde se buscáram algũas ervas, & quem achava cangrejo se tinha por venturoso. Dous dias marchamos a terra dentro, padecendo as mayores fomes, que já mais os nacidos suportáram, em que aconteceu em hũa destas noytes chegar-se hum grumete a hũa fogueyra, que se fazia junto á barraca de D. Duarte, descalçando-se açar hum sapato, & comello com grande sofreguidão, por não dar parte a outrem.

Ao terceyro dia marchamos sete legoas por serras, & caminhos asperos até dar á vista de hum rio, para o que decemos com trabalho huma serra ingrime, & pelo cansaço da marcha, sem ordem no caminhar, & com risco de se dividir o arrayal, pelos caminhos encontrados, que se offerecião, se não deramos fé delle de hũa serra, tornando muyto atraz para a não perder, a que chegamos bem noyte, junto a hum rio, aonde se acharão muytas beringellas bravas, & amargosas, que se comérão sem saber o que era botando as pevides fóra, & outros a que não abrangião, aquentavão agua com pimenta, & a bebião, & os que escapáram algum ambar o mascavão, por perderem o sentido do comer. Neste rio fugirão esta noyte todos os Cafres, que carretavão a D. Duarte, roubando todo o arrayal do cobre, & caldeyras, & o mais que pudérão levar, sentindo-se só ficar este fidalgo exposto com a falta delles a não poder marchar com nosco por vir muyto falto de saude, & forças. No dia seguinte aos nove de Agosto levando-se o arrayal para o mar junto ao rio em busca de vao, que achamos seco sobre tarde, sendo Deos servido, acharmos muytas figueiras bravas da India, cujos talos cruz, & cozidos servião de aliviar a fome. Aqui chegamos tão fracas, que algũs se deyxáram ficar atraz não se atrevendo a marchar, & assentamos logo da outra parte do rio, & ao outro dia de S. Lourenço marchando pelos montes altos por a praya não dar lugar, se deyxou ficar João Delgado, que já fizera o mesmo o dia d'antes, & o Almirante, & eu o trouxemos na retaguarda devagar, fez seu testamento, & confessando-se de novo com o Padre Francisco Pereyra, me pedio o deyxasse á vista do mar, aonde ficou, tendo já o arrayal trasposto hũs montes, & indo já apartados, & despedidos delle. Começou a gritar, & correr atraz de nós, que querendo-o esperar, cahio elle de focinhos sem se levantar mais deyxando-o nós por seguirmos o arrayal, que tambem nos deyxava, & julgando que elle nos não podia acompanhar. Era este mancebo cazado em Estremoz, & hia com remedio, tendo servido na India desde o

anno de 1635 em que passou a ella com Pedro da Silva, a quem servio. Este dia sobindo, & decendo serras se marchou pouco, assim por causa do caminho aspero, como por vir D. Duarte Lobo impossibilitado, & o não querermos deyxar, nem a outros, que hião ficando desmayados, a que se acodio marchando menos, & devagar, lançando-se no chão a tomar folego, acabando de vencer hũa serra, & subindo outra lastimando assás a quem os ouvia. Sobre a tarde á decida de hum monte ingreme chegamos a hũa pequena praya, em que havia hum ilheo, que de marè chea ficava rodeado de agua, & muyto grandes seyxos em hũa enseada pequena com hũa ribeyra de agua, julgando não faltaria marisco para aliviar a fome que nos tinha reduzido a estado, que não tinhamos mais que a semelhança de homens, & revolvendo toda a praya se não achou nada, ficandonos por experiencia que nos recifes de semelhante pedra não ha marisco. Nesta occasião, & sitio desgarrando-se os Cafres do Sotapiloto Balthazar Rodrigues a mariscar derão em hũa barroca com a cabeça de hum tigre muyto podre, com muytos bichos, & máo cheyro, a que logo comérão a lingua, & o mais muytos contentes trouxerão a seu senhor, que o poz a cozer com seus camaradas, & com Dom Duarte Lobo, bebendo-lhe primeyro o caldo, com tanta vigia, que por guardar este seu achado dos mais, esteve em quanto se cozeo com hũa espinguarda concertada para o defender se lho quizessem furtar, & pedindo hum Religioso hum pequeno não abrangoe a elle. O dia seguinte indo marchando algũs achárão no mato dous ratos mortos, & de máo cheyro sobre que ouve debates na repartição. Indo Paulo de Barros adiantado deu na praya com hum Cafre de que se alcançou estarmos perto do rio da Náo Belem, & de que não faltava resgate de milho, & vacas deu-se lhe sua joya de cobre, que elle restituhio com hum pequeno de milho, que trazia, que repartindo-se por todo o arrayal couberãoça cada pessoa doze grãos: cobramos alento com esta nova, & prostrados por terra demos graças a Deos, & se rezou hũa Ladainha a nossa Senhora com muyta devoção. E subindo hũa serra bem ingreme tornamos á praya, & marchamos até hum rio, que não sahia ao mar, onde assentamos o arrayal na ribeyra á vista de duas palhotas, em que o Cafre, & seus companheyros se recolheo, dando a entender que a sua povoação estava longe, para onde nos acompanharia o outro dia, & deu ao Almirante hum lenço de mixilhões, que repartio com Dom Duarte.

Assentando o arrayal se sahio cada hum pelo mato a colher figueyras para lhe comer os talos, & por hũa negra dizer que humas flores vermelhas, que trazia na mão se comião cozidas, se fizerão dellas caldeyradas, que comérão, & erão ervas babosas, as quaes causárão taes agonias, que a não aliviarem os que as comérão com bazares, & vomitar morrérão por ser peçonha. Aos doze de Agosto marchamos em companhia do Cafre, que se chamava Benamusa, por hum outeyro apique na subida do qual descancamos muytas vezes, & vencida esta difficuldade descancamos em cima junto a hũas palhotas, & o Almirante deu hũa manilha de cobre ao Cafre para nos guiar, o qual nos deu a entender se queria adiantar, & que se inviasse com elle algũa gente para trazer resgate da sua povoação duvidou-se ao principio, mas o Cafre era tambem encarado, & alegre, & a fome, que apertava tanto, & tão fea, que hũa, & outra causa facilitou as difficuldades, que se offerecião, ordenando-se a Paulo de Barros, que com seis marinheyros, & Aleyxo da Silva com dous passageyros, tirando forças de fraqueza, se adiantassem com o Cafre, a quem dando-se algũas joyas de cobre se foy muyto contente, & se lhe juntárão outros tres, que o esperavão no mato, a que seguimos perto de hũa legoa, & chegando ao alto de hũa serra gritarão alto esperando, & dando-nos os parabês de se ver já o Rio da Náo Belem, termo de nossas esperanças; onde descancamos hum legoa delle. O Cafre, & os que o acompanhavão tomárão seu caminho, sendo o nosso para o Rio outro, pelo qual decendo chegamos á praya delle já tarde, em que assentamos o arrayal, & achamos algũas reliquias da Náo Belem, & algũs mortinhos.

Neste caminho estive por vezes á morte o Padre Fr. Antonio de S. Guilherme de peçonha de hũas favas, que comeo assadas indozido de Domingos Borges de Sousa, que lhe affirmou as comera assim sem lhe fazerem mal, porém tornou em si a poder de pedra bazar moida, & outras contrapeçonhas. E á noyte se ceou na barraca de Dom Duarte Lobo hum pedaço de couro de fardo de canela assado, & em outro rancho hũa alparca de couro, que se trouxe nos pès mais de vinte dias, & na barraca de Jacinto Antonio o Mestre hum cão dos Cafres, que se matou á espingarda, de que senão partio, nem com D. Duarte, de que elle ficou sentido.

Por se não achar agua desta banda abrimos cacimba na area de muyto boa agua, & passamos tres dias confiando em Deos, & nos

que forão com o Benamusa em os quaes fizemos huma jangada para passarmos o rio, & resgatando a algũs Cafres, que vierão tão pouco milho, que não coube a cada pessoa, mais que hũa chavana. A quarta feyra vespera de nossa Senhora da Assumpção chegarão a outra parte do rio os que esperavamos da aldea do Cafre, livres da fome, & com as mochilas providas, & Cafres em sua companhia com seis vacas vivas de resgate, & tendo feyto a jangada, que dedicamos a S. Domingos Soriano, passou logo o rio a buscar Vicente da Silva criado de D. Duarte para dar razão do que acharão do resgate, sitio das aldeas, & costumes da gente, este mancebo trouxe a seu amo hum piqueno de milho, dous mocates, & hũa pequena de vaca cozida, de que o fidalgo partio com o Almirante, & outras pessoas, & o mais servio de regalo a elle, & seus camaradas.

Ao outro dia de nossa Senhora houve grande trabalho em passar a arpoeyra para poder barquear a jangada por o rio ser largo, & de corrente apressada, & não podendo passar todos este dia ficou o Almirante com os mais para o outro. E querendo hum grumete passar a nado o arrebatou a corrente da vazante, de maneyra, que o não julgamos escapar, & absolvendo-o de terra o Padre Fr. João da Encarnação, & chamando por São Domingos Soriano, o colheo hũa rebeça levando-o a terra sem dano algum. Os Cafres, que vinhão com as seis vacas de resgate por nos acharem ainda da outra parte, se tornárão á noyte a suas aldeas, prometendo tornar com ellas, contra o credito dos que passárão primeyro o rio, que não crião o que os que vierão com elles contavão da abundancia, que achárão, & boa passagem, que o Cafre hes fizera, pedindo a Dom Duarte, que foy dos primeyros que passárão, enviasse ás aldeas apressar o resgate, a que se mandou Urbano Fialho Ferreyra, & o Contramestre Antonio Carvalho da Costa, & outros com armas, & cobre para resgatarem.

O dia seguinte dezaseis de Agosto acabou de passar o arrayal, assentando entre duas serras á vista do mar, aonde chegarão os Cafres com vacas, que se lhe resgatárão, & repartirão pelos ranchos, matando hũs, outros assando, & cozendo, & todos comendo com tão boa vontade, que senão lançava fóra mais que as pontas, & unhas das vacas, que tudo o mais servia, & vindo decendo de pressa mais com muyto gado, milho, & mocates, ouve desordem da nossa parte aproveytando-se os resgatadores do mais, & melhor, espalhando-se alguns pelo mato, & esperando os

Cafres, resgatando-lhe milho, & mocates em grande prejuizo de todos, dando por hum mocate cobre, com que se resgatavão tres, & quatro no arrayal, & os Cafres achando fóra este preço não decião com mais que com vacas, a respeyto do que se lançou pregão com pena de morte, que ninguem sahisse fóra do arrayal a resgatar, o que não bastou, porque ainda a fome á vista de tanta carne senão satisfazia. Ordenou-se ao Mestre Jacinto Antonio, & outros rondar o mato, & caminhos não consentindo que se resgatasse, & que prendesse os que achasse, como achou tres Portuguezes, & tres negros nossos, que prendeo, & trouxerão ao arrayal, aonde feyto concelho, os Deputados derão por castigo, que dos tres brancos dous corressem com baraço, & pregão pelo arrayal, & se lhe pregassem as mãos, & a outro faltou prova. Dos negros se lançou sorte para haver de morrer hum, a qual cahio em hum mulato de Urbano Fialho, em quem logo se executou, & os outros dous forão rigurosamente açoutados pelo arrayal, encarregando-se esta execução, assim dos Portuguezes, como dos negros ao Meyrinho, & sendo verdugo hum negro. Na mesma pena encorreo hum page do Almirante, que ás costas de hum negro, & com pregão, foy bem açoutado. Hũa noyte destas havendo dous dias, que faltava o resgate, se fez hum curral, em que se recolhião, & amansavão as vacas, que se resolveo trouxessemos vivas não cessando a todas as horas de ir gente á fonte, que ficava dous tiros de mosquete por detraz de hũa serra, estando os nossos já recolhidos, tomárão a hum negro nosso hum caldeyrão nella, & tornando para o arrayal com grandes gritos, acodimos com as armas, & pelo tom da falla disparando-se hũa escopeta alcançou a hum Cafre por hũa perna, que logo trouxerão, & deyxando-o preso, & com centinella para o outro dia ser justicado, em nos recolhendo se levantou outra grita, a que se acodio, & inquirindo achamos serem os companheyros do Cafre ferido, que com elle tinhão vindo a roubar, & como a noyte era escura, sem a centinella dar fé o carregarão ás costas, & o levárão comsigo para o mato. Acharaõ-se neste conflito menos dous cabrinhas nossos, que fugirão, levando a seus amos hum caldeyrão, & hũa sertãa de cobre, & outro resgate mais oculto.

Entendendo haveria mais ladrões se emboscou algũa gente da nossa, & a poucos passos demos com hum Cafre, de que se lançou mão pretendendo elle com forças livrar-se, porèm Joseph Gonçalves Velloso marinheiro, morador em Belem levando de

hũa escopeta, lhe deu com ella, & lhe quebrou hum braço, & acodindo com fogo para o conhecer, se achou que era hum Cafre por nome João, dos que havião fugido a Dom Duarte Lobo da Silveyra, & roubado o arrayal, a quem o Almirante fez perguntas, & disse, que elle, & outros seus companheyros andavão por alli a roubar, pelo que o mandárão enforcar ao outro dia, depois de confessado. Logo começou outra vez a correr o resgate, como de antes de muyto milho, mocates, & algũs cabaços de leyte, & vacas, sendo estes barbaros já mais domesticos, por ventura pela communicacão, que tivérão com os nossos da Náo Belem, em sua perdição no anno de mil & seis centos & trinta & quatro, o tempo, que neste sitio fizerão os pataxos.

Nos dias, que aqui nos detivemos, que forão quatorze, ou quinze para descanso da gente quebrantada com tantos dias de fome, & trabalho do caminho, que haviamos passado, houve algũas discenções, & tratos de se apartarem algũs, & marcharem em arrayal apartado pelo mau governo do Almirante ocasionado de sua froxidão, & bondade, o que se não conseguiu por o tempo dispor outra cousa. Os que havião ido os dias atraz ás aldeas apreçar o resgate de vacas, como lá havia melhor pasto, se deyxárão andar, & tornando ao arrayal, achandonos já de barbas feytas se admárão, por se não conhecerem hũs a outros pelas debilitadas figuras, em que estavamos, & ouve pessoa nesta paragem, que confessou lhe havião com fome sahido nòs pelo corpo que já mais imaginou podia ter.

Os Cafres que nos fugirão com o que se enforcou, achando-se sem elle pedirão seguro, & tornarem para o arrayal, o que se lhe concedio pela falta, que fazião a Dom Duarte Lobo, & a impossibilidade, com que este fidalgo se achava para poder marchar, a causa de novos achaques, que o molestavão, sobre os que já trazia do mar, que erão muytos, & assim para algum alivio tratou de amansar dous boys, & se concertou com dezaseis grumetes, que o carretassem por tres mil & quinhentos xerafins pagos em Moçambique, & tendo isto contratado hũa segunda feyra á noyte de vinte & cinco para vinte & seis de Agosto lhe deu hum accidente de ventosidades, de que esteve muy atribulado, a que se lhe acodio com algalia, remedio de que usava por ser mal velho, com que melhorou, porèm de improviso o cometeo o mesmo mal pela garganta, que mal lhe deu lugar a fazer hum acto de amor de Deos muyto bem feyto, & com a ultima palavra

lhe faltou a falla, tendo nas mãos hũa lamina de Christo na Cruz. O Padre Fr. Antonio de São Guilherme, vendo-o nesta agonia lhe gritou lhe apertasse a mão se se queria confessar, o que elle fez bem rijo, & sem fallar mais o absolveo, & espirou logo. Foy a morte deste fidalgo a mais sentida de quantas succederão neste naufragio por ser fidalgo tão agradável a todos, que se não achou pessoa, a que não magoasse a perda de sua vida por muytas razões, que por suspeyto, & obrigado deyxou de apontar. Era D. Duarte Lobo filho segundo de D. Rodrigo Lobo General, que foy d'Armada deste Reyno passou á India no anno de 1629 com o Conde de Linhares despachado com a fortaleza de Baçaim por tres annos, & das terras de Bardès em vida. Avendo-se embarcado antes na Armada da costa, que se perdeu em França, no Galeão Santiago, que escapou brigando só com quatro Náos de Turcos valentemente. E no Estado da India servio por seus graos de soldado Capitão, Capitão mor das Armadas, & ultimamente Governador dos Estreytos de Ormuz, & Mar Roxo, aonde acclamou S. Magestade, que Deos guarde; achando-se em boas occasiões de seu serviço, & na do soccorro da Ilha de Ceylão por soldado de seu irmão D. Antonio Lobo, obrando em todas com grande satisfação, que os Vice-Reys mostrarão sempre de sua pessoa. Passava ao Reyno nesta Náo mais por ver a Sua Magestade, que por alcançar satisfação de tantos servicios.

A vinte & oito de Agosto dia de Santo Agostinho começamos a marchar, & seguindo o caminho chegamos a descansar a hum ribeyro junto da praya, esperando por João Lopes tanoeyro da Náo, a quem o Almirante mandou por seus camaradas hũa vaca mansa, que ficou de D. Duarte Lobo por nos não poder acompanhar de hũa facada, que lhe derão em hũa perna. Entrando com o arrayal mais dentro da terra assentamos para passar a noyte em hũa chãa junto a huma ribeyra de agua salobra, aonde se mandou enforcar com pouca prova hum Cafre dos que vierão com o seguro, que ficou de D. Duarte Lobo por se dizer que resgatara, & outro seu camarada, que havia acarretado o mesmo fidalgo, & era do Sotapiloto fugir com medo por ser dos mesmos, que vierão com seguro. Neste sitio nos detivemos hum dia por succeder no arrayal hum levantamento, querendo apartarse, dizendo, que não convinha irmos juntos, porque não haveria resgate para todos. Por causa do que chamou o Almirante a

conselho, & por todos se descontentarem de sua bondade, se votou que ouvesse divisão, que cessou por não concordarem na eleyção do novo Capitão, & repartição do cobre. Tornamos a marchar o outro dia trinta de Agosto com algumas vacas diante, atè hum bosque fresco á vista de tres povoações, de que sahirão muytos Cafres, & Cafras com grande resgate de vacas, milho, leyte, & mocates, onde assentamos este, & outro dia gozando desta fartura. Tornando os marinheyros, & grumetes a levantar voz, que se querião apartar com o seu Mestre, & que se dividisse a gente, repartisse o gado, & cobre, & armas, em que o Almirante, falto de amigos, & de conselho concedeo, fazendo primeyro termo nos livros delRey das causas, & modo, porque aquelle apartamento se fazia, que era por o bem de todos, a que em hûas partes faltava o resgate, & não abrangia a tantos, & que marchando apartados todos passarião melhor. Repartio-se a gente, armas, gado, linhas, arpoeyras, & caldeyrões, & o mais, & dando o Almirante a dianteyra ao Mestre, ficou marchando o Mestre com a melhor gente do mar, & o rancho dos camaradas, que fomos de D. Duarte Lobo, que depois de sua morte nos conservamos sempre sem divisão, & com as melhores armas do arrayal, de que era cabeça o Padre Fr. Antonio de São Guilherme, por seu grande talento, & valor, com que sempre militou na India, achando-se em occasiões de guerra, em que o bem mostrou, antes de entrar na Religião. Nesta companhia forão o Padre Fr. Diogo da Apresentação, & Fr. Bento Arrabido, & Fr. João da Encarnação, & por resgatadores Aleyxo da Sylva, & Antonio Carvalho da Costa.

Com o Almirante ficarão seus camaradas, & os Padres Fr. Afonso de Beja, Francisco Pereyra, & o Capellão da Náo, & Frey Ambrosio de Magalhães de Menezes, & Domingos Borges de Sousa, Veyga, & Faro, & os mais officiaes da Náo, & Paulo de Barros por resgatador. Neste sitio fugio hum Cafre a Roque Martins de Miranda, compadre, & camarada do Almirante com tudo o que trouxera da China, onde era casado, & escapou da Náo. Despedimonos hûs dos outros com grande sentimento, pedindo-se perdões, & passadas duas, ou tres horas, que o Mestre começára a marchar, se levou o Almirante com o seu arrayal com o gado diante por meyo das povoações, de que lhe sahia muyto resgate, que como erão poucos a todos abrangia, sendo os Cafres mais doceis, & tanto que passando por suas aldeas, tal vez o seu

gado se misturava com o nosso, & elles o apartavão com muyta quietação. Deste modo ouve o Almirante vista, pelas quatro horas da tarde da companhia do Mestre, que estava resgatando, depois de haver rodeado, & atravessado muytos caminhos, por se adiantar, trabalhando cada qual dos resgatadores por ser o primeyro, sem embargo, que nos tornamos a encontrar, marchando o Almirante diante com o seu gado, & companhia, & nòs seguindo-o, atè hum rio, em que fizemos alto, elle de hũa parte, & o Mestre da outra, o qual era de muyto boa agua, & dava pela meya perna, & com muyto fresco arvored. Armarão-se barracas, meteo-se o gado no meyo com boas continellas. Pelo discurso da noyte se atirou do arrayal do Almirante hum tiro espingarda, por gritarem os nossos moços, que os Cafres se tinham emboscado, para dar nos caldeyrões, com que se hia buscar agua ás fontes, mas nesta não tiveram bom successo porque evitando este risco se valérão os nossos para isso de cabaços, que tinham resgatado com leyte, repartidos pelos ranchos. Aqui ficou o Mestre dous dias sem marchar, por acodir muyto resgate de toda a sorte, & algũas galinhas, & espetadas de gafanhotos, que os Cafres offerecião, imaginando se lhe daria cobre a troco. Aos cinco de Setembro pela manhã, rezando primeyro hũa Ladainha a nossa Senhora, marchamos por hũa serra muyto ingrime, decendo-a logo à outra parte, de que não passamos aquelle dia pelo muyto resgate, que acodio ao longo de hum rio clarissimo, & de boa agua, em que resgatamos vacas, leyte, & mocates, em meyo de muytas povoações, donde ao dia seguinte marchamos por hum monte alto, com dous barbaros, que nos servião de guia, deyxando enforcado hum Cafre, dos que nos tinham fugido, & roubado o arrayal.

Como estes Barbaros fazem toda sua estimação do cobre, se conjurárão todos os do resgate do dia de antes, para nos roubar, servindo-lhes de espia sobre os dous Barbaros, que se nos offerecerão por guias, como fizerão, lançando a fugir por hum mato com hũa vaca, com que se ouvirão de acolher, se não fora a diligencia, dos que hião diante, & pegando Joseph Gonçalves Velloso de hum delles para o amarrar, lhe lançou o outro a mão á mochila, sobre que andárão a braços, ã que acodio Vicente da Sylva, largando da mão a espingarda, de que affeyçoado hum Cafre do mato lançou mão, & correo tão ligeyro, que se lhe não pode valer. E saindo daqui nos achamos em hum campo cercado de tantos Cafres,

como estorninhos, em ala, & som de guerra, brandindo azagayas, infinitos para cada hum dos Portuguezes, mas nòs despedindo balas, ainda que com pouco effeyto por ser de longe, os fizemos retirar, deyxandonos seguir nosso caminho, sempre á sua vista, atè hum mato, em que nos metemos, imaginando ser desvio desta canalha, ordenando-se a marcha muy atento, com armas na dianteyra, & retaguarda, & o gado no meyo, & vigias pelos lados, por ser o caminho roim, & comprido, & os Cafres não perderem ponto de nos offender, cometendonos no meyo do mato com grande grita, mas favorecendo-nos Deos lhe matamos logo tres, & sem dano nosso nos achamos livres do mato, & perto de hũa fonte de boa agua nos acodio algum resgate, de que não se admire quem o ler, porque esta gente vendo cobre não reparão, em que lhe matem pay, & mãy, nem parentes.

Aos sete de Setembro marchamos deste lugar por grandes campinas, com muyta nevoa, & sem poder romper as nuvês de gafanhotos. Aos oito dia do Nascimento de nossa Senhora, acodirão muytos Cafres com resgate de vacas, & milho marchando por terra de trinta graos muy aprazivel, & alegre, com vista de muytos passaros grandes a modo de garças reaes, mas tão altos, que ao longe pareciaõ carneyros. Aqui avistamos hum dia hum bando de leões bem grande, que andavão em hum valle brincando, sem darem fé de nòs, que passamos por hum alto, de que vimos o mar, para onde marchamos com quarenta & duas vacas vivas em nossa companhia; não tratando de entrar mais pela terra dentro pela risco dos Cafres. Dia de São Nicolao de Tolentino, marchando pela praya, achamos hum farol, & muyta madeyra, que julgamos ser fabrica de algũa Náo, que devia dar á costa, & antes do meyo dia chegamos a hum rio caudaloso, que senão passou aquelle dia por ser de grande corrente, & estar a marè chea, aonde vierão alguns Cafres pescadores da outra parte sem trazer resgate, de que alcançamos depois vinhão a espiarnos, vadeando o rio com agua pela cinta, a quem deyxamos o nome de Rio da Cruz, por hũa de pao que alli levantamos, & outra que se esculpio em huma pedra, para se a companhia do Almirante viesse atraz, saber que eramos passados. Subimos a hum teso de pedras, aonde nos esperavão mais de duzentos Cafres com suas azagayas em som de guerra, cubertos com rodela de couro, de que usão, aos quaes cometemos castigando seu atrevimento com a morte do que os capitaneava, a que acertou Antonio

Carvalho da Costa, com duas balas pelas pernas, de que cahio ferida, & o acabamos de matar a espada desemparrando os mais o campo á vista deste, porque não he gente, que mais espere, & advertindo, que quando estes Barbaros vem muytos juntos sem resgate, vem a furtar, & não he acertado então poupalos, sendo sempre o caminho da praya o mais acertado, & seguro, aonde nos tornarão a sahir; mas matando Aleyxo da Sylva outro á espingarda, deyxarão de nos seguir. Nesta praya se ficou por não poder marchar hum moço da India muyto bom Cirurgião. Chegamos este dia à noyte a assentar junto de hum lagoa por detraz de hum rio, que nos impedia a vista do mar. Ao outro dia doze de Setembro nos não levamos, por se levantar hũa grande trevoadá, & relampagos, & lançando os olhos a hũa serra, vimos muyta gente, que marchava com vacas diante, & vinha depressa a buscar sitio, em que se recolhesse da chuva. Conhecemos ser a companhia do Almirante, que havendo vista do nosso arrayal disparou duas espingardas, a que respondemos com outras, & vierão assentar da outra parte da lagoa amparados de hum mato, donde vindo a nós Paulo de Barros, & outros soubemos a mal afortunada jornada, que havião feyto, & destroço, que tivêrão dos Cafres. O Mestre Jacinto Antonio, mandou por Fr. João da Encarnação, visitar o Almirante, a que respondeo por escrito, pedindo-lhe, & requerendo-lhe se tornasse a unir á sua companhia para juntos se defenderem melhor dos Cafres, que se podião juntar em dano de todos, protestando, que do contrario daria conta, do que por essa causa succedesse. Com este escrito fez o Mestre conselho, em que depois de varios pareceres, em que os marinheyros votárão, nos não unissemos, por nos não governarem os passageyros, a que o Almirante só deferia, com tudo o Mestre intimidado por Frey João, que tornára a visitar o Almirante, & pelo receyo dos Cafres, se resolveo em se unirem, ficando iguaes na jurisdição, & mando, o que então pareceo convinha mais á conservação de todos. Deyxamos descansar os arrayaes unidos, em quanto damos razão do succedido a Antonio da Camara de Noronha, os nove dias, que marchou apartado.

Tanto que amanheceõ o dia, que o Almirante se apartou de nós alem do rio começou a marchar pela serra acima, dando ao decer della com muyto mantimento, atravessou hum mato espesso, & sahindo a terras chãs com resgate de vacas, milho,

mocates, & leyte, dando com huns negros de boa natureza, que o acompanhãrão, ajudando-lhe a tanger as vacas, ainda que sempre com os olhos, no que poderião furtar. Fez duas jornadas com esta fartura, & na terceyra, passando hum mato pequeno, apanhãrão das costas ao irmão do Sotapiloto a sua mochila lançando-se o Cafre a fugir, sem o poderem offender, por sua grande ligeyresa. Outro Cafre investio tambem com hum mulato do Contramestre, por lhe furtar os alforjes, & em quanto andavão ás pancadas, se lhe acodio, & fugio o Cafre. Dahi passou a hum rio com muyto arvoredado, em que passou o rigor do Sol, á vista de povoações, de que lhe sahirão com muytos cabaços de leyte. Querendo subir a hũa serra, lhe sahio hum Cafre de boa feyção, com muytas manilhas de cobre, & trezentos em sua companhia, mas sem armas, & tratando de resgate, & mostrando-lhe cobre, respondeo em Portuguez, que não queria por as suas vacas, senão prata, como a Lua, & ouro, como o Sol, de que se entendeo devia aquelle Cafre ficar alli pequeno, de algũa perdição.

Paulo de Barros, que por ter já passado este caminho, entendia bem o modo dos Cafres, alcançou deste, que atentava para o gado, que o Almirante já trazia manso com carga, & receoso de algũa assaltada, começou a marchar com as vacas diante, & hum grumete, com algũs Cafres da terra, que o tangião. Tanto que os outros o virão marchar sahirão atraz delle, & chegando ao alto da serra vendo os Cafres, que os que o seguião não podião chegar tão depressa, por ser o caminho aspero, & comprido, saltãrão em Paulo de Barros, & no grumete ás pancadas, sem lhe valer a espingarda, & espada, que trazia, para o não moerem a pancadas, com hũas braças de pao que trazião, & os ferirão, tomando-lhe os alforjes, & tres vacas vivas. O grumete se defendeo melhor com hum bacamarte, sem perder mais que o chapeo, por chegarem os mais a Paulo de Barros, & juntando as vacas o curarão da ferida. Soccedeo isto á vista de hũa povoação, em que os negros do nosso arrayal entrãrão, & roubando o que acharão de comer, não consentio o Almirante lhe puzessem o fogo. Salvador Pereyra chegando com o arcabus a hũas arvores passou entre mais de cento a hum Cafre, & dando com elle em terra, os mais se afastãrão, deyxando os alforjes, que tomarão ao Barros abertos, tomando o que lhe melhor pareceo com grande festa. E depois disto em qualquer parte, que assentava o arrayal, o não deyxavão

de seguir estes Cafres, sem ouzarem ao cometer, mas chegando á vista de dous montes, & forçado a passar pela fralda da mão direyta, no mais ingreme se atravessárão mais de trezentos Cafres em hum, & outro com suas armas, & chegando ao meyo caminho se preparou a retaguarda esperando pelos que ficavão atraz, adiantando-se Domingos Borges, com alguns mais, que o seguirão pelo monte assima avançou o alto, que os Cafres largárão ficando elle senhor do posto, com o que os mais marchárão pela fralda sem dano algum, seguindo-os sempre os Barbaros atè chegar a hũa chãa com arvoredos, em que Domingos Borges, sem ser visto, se emboscou, & matou hum. O que foy occasião de se enfurecerem de maneyra, que desviando-se de tiro de espingarda, não deyxavão de perseguir ás pedradas, tanto que decendo-se algum monte era necessario porem-se tres homens com as armas de fogo ao rosto atè o arrayal passar, & logo em outro passo outros, atè chegarem a outras povoações, sem lhe fazer dano algum levando as vacas diante com gente de vigia, & chegando a hum passo estreyto com serras altas de hũa parte, & da outra mato tão cerrado, que senão podia romper, os Cafres os servião de pedradas, de que se não pudérão valer ferindo ao Almirante, Salvador Pereyra, na retaguarda, sem poderem ser senhores de si, nem atirarem mais, que o primeyro tiro, que não empregarão, vendo-se aqui muytos brabateadores, que corrérão bem para se livrar da trevoada que foy bem grossa. Passada ella se juntárão todos em huma terra, que havia sido semeada, junto a hum rio, & os Cafres entendendo que o arrayal ficava alli, puzerão fogo á erva que estava seca, pelo que o Almirante passou á outra parte do rio marchando para hũas serras, assentando no mais alto dellas, para passar a noyte com vigia atè amanhecer, sem armar barracas, nem fazer de comer com os Cafres á vista, dando grandes coqueadas, & a entender, que cometerião de noyte o arrayal. E o Almirante antemanhãa se levou seu caminho pela serra assima com as vacas, aonde achou que já os Barbaros tinhão occupado o alto della com galgas juntas, & por não haver outro remedio se dispoz Domingos Borges de Sousa, Salvador Pereyra, & outras pessoas a vencer este risco com as espingardas ao rosto, & os olhos nas galgas, que os Cafres começavão a lançar com dano dos nossos, & indo buscar outras, tivérão os nossos lugar de avançar o alto, & elles se retirárão deyxando passar todos a salvo. Descansando deste trabalho marchárão hum

pouco, & forão fazer noyte junto a hum rio, aonde chegarão bem destroçados do caminho, & dos Cafres marchando muyto aquelle dia por ver se se podião adiantar de tão má canalha, & o Almirante bem maltratado das pedradas. Ao outro dia subindo, & decendo serras, & caminhos asperos, encontrou sinco Cafres, que o seguião, & chamando-os, o não quizerão esperar então, & ao meyo dia chegarão dous delles, & dando-lhe piquenos de cobre para lhes ensinarem o caminho, elles o metérão por hum mato cerrado, em que a poucos passos entendeu o guiavão para traz, & elles vendo, que erão entendidos, lançarão a fugir, havendo já votos, que os matassem. El marchando veyo o Almirante a hum rio de muyto arvoredado fresco, aonde descansando hum pouco, mandou passar palavra para marcharem, o que se aceytou mal, por estarem cansados, & ser o posto bom, & cometendo hũa serra, os cinco negros, que se lhe adiantarão atraz, passarão o rio primeyro, & occuparão o alto della sem serem vistos, & tanto que o tiverão debayxo, começarão a lançar galgas, & atalhar o caminho, & sem duvida se os Cafres forão mais este dia escapára difficultosamente, com tudo se apressarão, & não descansarão atè se ver na mayor altura da serra, a que chegarão esbofados, com que cobrarão algum alivio. Tornando logo a marchar por terras chãas, & caminhos seguidos, descobrindo tanta copia de Cafres, que negrejavão os campos, & assim forão andando atè hũa subida, em que estava o Benamusa, a que chegarão sem aggravo, & só virão em sima com elle cercados de povoações, & de muytos Cafres com vacas, de que ficarão contentes, parecendo não faltaria resgate. Fallarão com o Benamusa, que parecia pessoa autorizada, cuberto com huma capa de couro retalhada em tiras, & o mesmo os seus, que he a mayor gala destes barbaros. Pedio-lhe o Almirante que o manda-se guiar para hum rio, que parecia, & aonde resgatarião, para o que lhe deu suas joyas de cobre, com que se satisfez, mandando dous Cafres seus por guias, com o que forão marchando com armas na mão, vacas diante, & cuydado na retaguarda, advertidos do que já lhe tinha succedido. Entrarão por hum caminho seguido cercado de huma parte de mato espesso, & da outra de pedreyras altas a modo de edificios velhos, & em parte lapas naturaes, que servião de reparo, para o que logo succedeo, que juntos os sinco Cafres, de que atraz se faz menção com estes os avisarão da morte dos tres, & unidos se atravessarão em sima destas lapas com muytas pedras, que

despedirão chegando o gado, que hia diante, sendo-lhe necessario para fazerem tiro descobrir o corpo, dando primeyro na ponta das lagês, & dellas no caminho, com que derão lugar á gente se desviar, indo sempre os que marchavão diante com o tento nellas, gritando, que havia treição, o que vendo os Cafres, que guiavão, quizerão fugir, mas Domingos Borges de Sousa levando a espingarda ao rosto derrubou logo o primeyro, & o outro escapou por meyo de seis espingardas, sem se lhe poder fazer tiro, tão ligeiros são estes barbaros, não cessando em tanto os das galgas, de que escapou o arrayal, valendo-se das lapas, em que se recolhião, & dellas correndo quinze, & vinte passos tornavão a serrar outra lapa, atè de todo se livrarem deste passo, chegando ao rio, que passarão com agua pelo giolho, & assentárão, dando graças a Deos pelos livrar de tão evidentes perigos. Os Cafres vierão buscar o morto com grandes prantos, em que não cessarão toda a noyte, em que o Almirante teve com boa vigia atè a manhã, que tornou a marchar, vindo algũs Cafres com resgate para o que parou o arrayal, parecendo que se alojasse alli dous dias, mas como o Almirante estava doente, & ferido, receoso de algũa treição dos Cafres, tornárão a marchar por hum monte de muytos espinhos, & grande praga de gafanhotos pegados nas arvores, a que sobreveyo grande nevoa com chuva meuda, sem verem o caminho, & forão em busca do mar fugindo dos Cafres, que os tinhamão tão acossados, & descançárão dia, & meyo junto a hum rio de lagens, & arvoredos com muyta lenha matando vacas, refrescando-se para alivio do trabalho passado, curando os feridos com azeite de coco por não haver outra medicina.

Deste sitio se levárão para o mar de que tinhamão saudades, andando todos os dias seis, & sete legoas, por queymadas, & roins caminhos, de modo que quando chegavão á noyte se não podião valer de cansados. Em hum se forão meter na ponta de huma serra fragosa, & medonha, que ao decer para bayxo punha tanto espanto, quanto ao subir logo da outra parte, que dividia hum rio caudaloso, com grande pedraria no meyo. Guiando as vacas diante começárão a decer, levando penedos consigo, que a marchar gente diante a fizerão em pedaços (roim passo se ouvera Cafres) & assim ficárão alguas vacas atravessadas entre as arvores sem se poderem bolir, & a gente decia arrastos pelo chão com muyto sentido, atè chegar a bayxo, aonde achárão a vaca em que o Almirante marchava, morta, que decendo aos tombos com

muytos penedos a poz si, servio aquella noyte de pasto ao arrayal, que a passou em hum sitio de alto capim, que servia de sombra aos Elefantes, com mais descanso, que as passadas, sem receyo de Barbaros, com cama de palha boa, & alta, de que sahirão ao outro dia pelo caminho da serra com trabalho, & passando o rio com bem roim vao, não se lembrarão mais, que de ir por diante por se ver livre, de tão má terra, & peyor gente. Seria pelas tres da tarde, quando se acharão na sobida da serra caminhando para a vencer, pegados aos rabos das vacas, com que se diz, o que se pòde encarecer, & descansando deste trabalho tornárão a elle marchando adiante, aonde derão fé de sincoenta Cafres armados de rodellas, & azagayas, que chegando á falla, não tiverão animo para cometerem o arrayal.

Idos elles sentirão os nossos muyto achar menos hum marinheyro, sabendo-se, que ficava dormindo duas legoas atraz, quando descançarão, sem os camaradas o acordarem. Passando com grande trabalho huns charcos de agua, escolhérão melhor sitio para passar a noyte, trabalhando cada qual de buscar agua, & lenha para se cozinhar, o que se havia de comer. O marinheyro, que ficou dormindo, achando-se só, foy marchando apoz do arrayal, & anoytecendo-lhe foy seguido atè as onze horas da noyte, em que se achou em meyo de muytos fogos, huns para a banda da praya, & outros pela da terra dentro, & marchou para elles atè descobrir as barracas, a que chegou muyto contente, festejando-o no arrayal, como a causa já perdida. Pela manhã cedo se levárão, entendendo, que os fogos, que o marinheyro vira na praya, seriam de algũa tropa de Cafres, que os esperava, & forão com alguma chuva marchando para a praya, em que descobrirão a companhia do Mestre Jacinto Antonio, a que salvárão, como esta dito assentando-se defronte tão cançados, & cortados do trabalho, & medo dos Cafres, que, como temos visto, se juntárão os arrayaes, assentando cada companhia o seu arrayal apartado, porque no do Mestre havia mais vacas, & este dia acodirão os Cafres com muyto resgate, que se repartio entre todos.

Juntos os arrayaes, marchamos para hum rio, que passamos em tres braças, com agua pelos joelhos, que a não se achar seco na boca, era mayor, que o da Náo Belem, aonde nos acodio algum resgate de milho, & frangos, que se repartirão pelos doentes, & feridos curando o Almirante das feridas, que lhe fizerão os

Cafres, chegarão a nós huns com o resgate, sendo os primeyros a que vimos barretes de seu proprio cabello na cabeça, a modo de toucas dos Baneanes da India, & contas vermelhas ao pescoço. Pelas tres da tarde fizemos alto em razão de dar pasto ao gado, & se matarem vacas para comer. Dia de S. Mattheus, tendo marchado duas legoas pela praya, se descobrirão vacas, & assentando, tanto para as nossas pastarem, como para a gente descansar. Ordenou-se a sinco pessoas da companhia fossem com suas armas ás povoações a ver se havia resgate, & tornando com boas novas, & com hum cabra, & hum cabrito, por não poder carregar mais, apparecendo logo atraz elles Cafres, a que se resgatou o que trazião, & ao outro dia não faltou resgate, de muytas galinhas, que vierão a muyto bom tempo para os doentes, & sempre, que achamos vacas não se deyxarão de resgatar, as que se quizerão vender, em razão da falta, que poderíamos sentir por se matarem cada dous dias tres para o arrayal.

Levados deste lugar aos vinte tres dias de Setembro chegamos a outro rio, em que foy forçado fazer alto, pelo resgate, que acodio muyto, & se repartir igualmente, buscando-se vao ao rio, que está em altura de nove graos & meyo. E suposto, que os que se havião perdido da naveta, dizião, que o passarão com jangada, foy Deos servido mostrarnos o caminho pelo trabalho, que as jangadas davão a todos, & passando com agua pelo pescoço se poz o arrayal da outra parte, acodindo muytos Cafres com grande festa, deu-se ordem aos resgatadores, que resgatassem, o que fizerão, aprobeytando-se sempre do officio em dano, & prejuizo do comum, que vendo a familiaridade, & abundancia, com que estes negros acodião a resgatar, parecendo seria assim sempre, intentarão a mayor parte dos marinheyros deyxar-se ficar com o Mestre, & apartarse da mais companhia, tendo em seu poder a mayor parte do cobre, movendo-se a esta discordia pelas que tinhão huns com os outros, & desgostos que havião do governo do Almirante. O qual sem consideração, nem dar conta aos que tinhão de sua parte, não resistio a nada, ordenando se partissem as vacas, & cavalgando na que trazia para isso, assim doente, & ferido, como se achava, & começou a marchar só, a que o Padre Fr. Antonio de São Guilherme, & seus camaradas, sahimos atravessando-lhe o caminho, & perguntando-lhe o Padre o que intentava, & a que hia só, que se apeasse, & mandasse chamar Paulo de Barros, que era cabeça da parte do Mestre,

tendo recebido muytos favores do Almirante, porque a desunião não passasse adiante, o qual respondeo: que não queria vir, o que a todos pareceo muyto mal, & tanto que chegando-se Antonio Carvalho da Costa, com ter affinidade com o Mestre, ao Almirante, lhe advertio, que não consentisse na divisão, que se intentava, por não convir á conservação de todos, allegando para isso muytas razões, sendo a principal, que ficava a mayor parte do cobre na companhia do Mestre, & a sua impossibilitada para o resgate, que se repartisse o cobre, & as vacas igualmente, offerecendo-se a ser seu resgatador, o que visto pelo Padre Fr. Antonio, & a sem razão, com que se levantavão, sem medo, nem temor de Deos, disse em alta voz, que a não lho impedir o habito, & profissão não sofrera tal, & com as armas investira a todos, & castigára tão grande ouzadia, movendo com isto aos camaradas, & aos mais para tomar o cobre por força, & sahimos com as armas de fogo ao rosto para a barraca do Mestre, ao que acodirão os da sua facção, que erão os mais, ao defender, & confórme a deliberação de hūs, & outros esta dia, ouverão de perecer muytos, & os mais ficarem expostos ao rigor dos Cafres, se o Mestre senão sahira apressado para o mato por detraz da barraca, & o Padre Fr. João da Encarnação seu camarada despido á porta de giolhos pedindo com hũa imagem de nossa Senhora do Rosario nas mãos, que por esta Senhora, & pelas chagas de Christo se aquietassem, não faltando o Almirante com sua brandura costumada, não consentindo-se uzasse o rigor merecido, pelo que se passou sem offensa alguma, dando o Mestre, & Paulo de Barros razões, que se lhe não admittião, & só dando-se lugar a que ouve-se amizade, & união, concedendo em fim todos no que se pedia por parte do Almirante, por nos estar melhor a conservação de todos o não nos dividirmos, & se tornou a assentar o arrayal, gastando-se aquelle dia no conselho, que se fez propondo leys, & cousas convenientes ao bom governo, de que sahio, o que mais convinha por voto do Padre Frey Antonio de São Guilherme sem o qual senão obrava cousa, que boa fosse, fazendo-se assento nos livros delRey, em que todos assinamos, nomeando-se Capitães, & companhias como de antes, & vindo á noyte ficamos todos em paz, & contentes, dando graças a Deos, que nos livrou de tão evidente perigo.

O dia seguinte de São Jeronymo marchamos duas legoas, & havendo vista de Cafres, descançamos, refrescando-se o arrayal

com grande resgate de milho, mocates, & gergelim, que foy o primeyro que se vio, acodindo tudo em tanta abundancia, qual atè então senão tinha visto, & entrando pela terra adiante meya legoa da praya fizemos alto por dous dias, em que atè peyxe nos trouxerão, que se repartio, & o mais igualmente sem queyxa, effeyto das novas leys, que se fizerão, em comprimento das quaes sahio hum grumete neste sitio pelo arrayal com baraço, & pregão por incorrer na pena de resgatar sem ordem, & a João Barbosa, que servia de Escrivão do arrayal, sendo acusado do mesmo crime por se lhe não provar bem o deposerão do officio. Com o que se mandou ás povoações buscar vacas donde trouxerão só tres, com que nos resolvemos tornar a buscar a praya, ficandonos aqui tres Cafres fugidos, dous que forão de Dom Duarte Lobo com huma caldeyrinha de cobre furtada, & outro do Padre Fr. Antonio de S. Guilherme, & a horas de fazer noyte nos metemos pelo mato a buscar agua doce, & chegando a huma parage, que fora povoação, a achamos, & assentamos entre muytas beldroegas, & canas de assucar tenras, & figueyras mansas, que nos alegrarão muyto. Enviando a descobrir terra, ouve noticia de povoações perto, a que o Almirante mandou quatro homens a resgatar vacas, o que pareceo mal ao Padre Frey Antonio por ter mostrado a experiencia, que os que hião ás aldeas, só tratavão de si, & nada do arrayal, & assim o persuadio, a que fossemos tras elles, levantando as barracas, guiados de dous Cafres, & ficando-nos aqui hum negrinho malavar do Padre Francisco Pereyra, ao qual tornando atraz em sua busca o não acharão. Chegamos a sitio, onde vimos aos que o Almirante mandou diante rodeados de mais de trezentos Cafres, com suas mulheres, & mininos, a quem tinham já resgatado dous feyxes de canas de assucar, & alguns mocates, & outros tinham ido a buscar gado, dando mostras de ser boa gente, porque passando por elles o arrayal nos recebérão com festa, cantigas, & bayles a seu modo, assentamos á sua vista, & de muytas povoações em hũa campina junto a hum rio acodindo tanto resgate, que passarão de mil mocates de milho, o melhor pão de toda a Cafraria, muytas galinhas, milho, vacas, cabras, & canas de assucar, de tudo grande copia, mas como traziamos de longe a pòuca sogeyção, a vista desta fartura a houve menos, embrenhando-se muytos pelo mato a resgatar em prejuizo dos mais, & contra o assentado, que era pena de morte a quem tal fizesse, & tratando o Almirante castigar os culpados,

por achar poucos izentos de culpa desestio do castigo que merecião. Neste sitio passamos nove dias, descansando, & aproveytando o resgate, que acodia cada dia mais, fugindonos hũa negra forra com hum seu filho, a qual foy de Joanna do Espirito Santo a Beata, levando comsigo outra negra casta Buque cativa de Domingos Borges de Sousa. Passados estes dias nos levamos marchando entre povoações mais de hũa legoa onde deyxamos hum grumete natural de Almada, por nome Francisco Gonçalves, por não poder marchar a pè, nem a cavallo, tendo-o feyto até então com grande constancia, doente, & impossibilitado, que parecia a propria morte encomendado aos negros com hum pequeno de cobre para terem cuydado delle, de quem nos despedimos com grande lastima. Marchamos a treze de Outubro com abundancia de resgate, vindo no proprio dia hum Cafre em companhia de outros com galinhas, fallando-nos em Portugues, & perguntando como fora alli dar, respondeo: que da perdição da Náo São João, tendo os Portuguezes guerra com os Cafres, se ficára alli piqueno, & dando mostras de ser Christão, beyjou hum crucifixo, que se lhe mostrou com devoção, & reverenciou com summissão os Sacerdotes, que vio, dizendo, que estava alli casado com sinco filhos, que nos detivessemos aquelle dia, & ao outro tornaria, posto que seu Rey morava dalli grande distancia.

Ao dia seguinte querendo marchar acodirão muytos Cafres com resgate, & assim tornamos a armar barracas no mesmo sitio, achando mais lealdade nestes brutos, que nos mais atraz, & era a melhor gente, que encontramos, bem agestada, affavel, & confiada nos resgates. Aqui tornou o Cafre, que disse se chamava Alexandre com hum filho, a que chamava Francisco, & algum resgate em sua companhia, & por se mostrar affeyçoado à Fé de Christão, se moveo o Padre Francisco Pereyra, que tinha sido da Companhia de Jesus, a querer ficar com elle, desejando tratar da salvação daquella alma, & de seus filhos, & dos mais a que Deos tivesse escolhido. Tratou este intento com o Almirante, & outros amigos, que lho quizerão impedir com razões, que não admittio, respondendo: que não fazia nada em dar a vida pela salvação daquellas almas, havendo-lha Deos dado tantas vezes, trazendo-a arriscada em tantos perigos, & miserias da terra, & riscos do mar, em que tinha sido nosso companheyro. Com rizo na boca, & lagrimas nos olhos de quem o via, se foy desfazendo

de algũas cousas, reservando só para si hũa imagem de Christo Senhor nosso, & hũa lamina do Nascimento que trazia, despedindo-se do arrayal com grande resolução, escrevendo ao Arcebispo Primaz da India, & ao Vice-Rey este seu intento, & levando comsigo o Cafre Alexandre, & seu filho muyto alegres, a quẽ se deu hũa cadea de cobre, & outras joyas a effeyto de ficar propicio ao Padre, que marchando para a sua povoação nos deyxou admirados, porém com ser a tenção destre Padre dirigida ao serviço de Deos nosso Senhor, por ordem do diabo senão proseguio, porque achandose no meyo do mato deseparado do Cafre, que o guiava, & já longe donde o haviamos deyxado, & ficamos, foy forçado tornarse ao arrayal bem sentido, & desconsolado, com a imagem, & lamina, que comsigo levava, que se attribuhio a favor milagroso do Ceo deyxarilhas o Cafre, & não o matar pelo roubar, segundo a estimação, que estes Alarves fazem de cobre.

A quinze de Outubro marchamos pela praya hum pedaço por area solta, que dava grande molestia, aonde chegarão Cafres com muyto resgate de toda a sorte, que se lhe comprou, & fazendo de tudo hum monte na praya para se repartir, estando o Almirante com hũa azagaya na mão, acertou de tomar com ella hum mocate amarelo, & mimoso, que se lhe devia por Capitão, não faltando de comer no arrayal, sendo, que os que tinham menos pejo resgatavão o que lhes parecia sem lhe hir alguem á mão com tudo vendo isto, sem se lhe ter respeyto, nem a oyto Religiosos, que estavam presentes, faltárão os que estavam á roda nos mocates, & os arrebatárão sem deyxar algum, com o mayor desaforo, que até então se tinha uzado, obrigando ao Almirante a sahir dos limites de sua brandura, & boa natureza, dando com a propria azagaya em algũs, & podendo castigar a outros o não fez por escuzar novos alvoroços, & não arriscar o arrayal cada hora a hũa desgraça.

Levando daqui marchariamos duas legoas, quando obrigados de hum temporal, que nos entrou, com relampagos, fozis, & trovões, assentamos entre hum mato, junto a hum rio de agua doce, sahindonos pelo caminho muytos Cafres cantando, & baylando com grandes alegrias a seu modo, seguindonos até se fazer noyte, aonde tornarão com muyto resgate, & algumas cabras, cabritos, & ramos de figos da India, que nos servirão de alivio. O dia seguinte esperando, que vazasse a marè, vadeamos o rio

com agua pelos peytos dando-lhe por nome dos figos, por serem aquelles os primeyros, que achamos nesta Cafraria. Passado o qual, seguindo nosso caminho, chegamos a outro, que achamos seco na boca, a que dividia hũa coroa de area, que passamos com agua pelos giolhos, marchando até dezasete de Outubro, sem ter que contar. Chegamos a outro rio, que passamos de bayxamar com agua pela cinta por tres canaes, que fazia. Depois do que passamos tres dias com resgate de vacas, & galinhas em tanta abundancia, que a cada pessoa couberão sinco, & algumas cabras, de que as peles servião para resgatar leyte, & acodio pouco milho, por estar lançado á terra, havendo tanta desordem no resgatar, sem respeyto ao Almirante, nem aos Religiosos, que ás claras, como se não ouvesse justiça, o fazião, & assim nos levamos a vinte dous do dito mez com o arrayal abastado, marchando em nossa companhia hum Cafre, a que os da perdição da naveta derão nome Thomé, que nos acompanhou quatro dias, que era de grande serviço, & acodia ao que se lhe mandava sem se negar a nada, pelo que se lhe derão algũas joyas de cobre. Subindo da praya hum comaro de area alto todo cuberto de mato por sima, & tornando-o a decer para a terra, demos fé em altura de vinte sete para vinte oyto graos, da mais fermosa varzea, que nossos olhos virão, povoada de muytas povoaçoens, & regada de rios de agua doce, com muyto gado, aonde nos sahirão tantos Cafres, & Cafras, que todos aquelles campos negrejavão, trazendo tanto resgate, que descancamos hum pouco á sua vista, & tornando logo a marchar com todos estes brutos em nossa companhia servirão de passarmos hum rio ás costas por tres braços com agua pelo pescoço, pelo que se lhe davão pedacinhos de cobre. Aqui fizemos noyte, resgatando cada qual á sua vontade, sem haver quem puzesse remedio a tanto dano. O dia seguinte, antes de chegarem os Cafres com o resgate, que foy tanto, que cahirão a cada pessoa oyto galinhas, chamou o Almirante Religiosos, officiaes, & passageyros da Náo, apartados do arrayal, junto ao rio, & propoz as impossibilidades, com que se achava, para não poder continuar com o governo do arrayal, & que elle desistia do cargo, & dimittia de si toda a jurisdição, para que se pudesse eleger pessoa, que com paz, & quietação nos levasse ao Cabo das Correntes, a que elle obedeceria. Ao que se lhe respondeo, que supposto a confissão, que fazia de falta de forças, ainda que não havia na companhia quem podesse aceytar

sua desistencia, se lhe aceytava por todos, & precedendo-se á eleyção, sahirão eleytos para tomarem os votos o Padre Fr. Antonio de S. Guilherme, & Urbano Fialho Ferreyra, que se forão para a barraca de Antonio Carvalho, aonde acodirão todos, & havendo no votar algum desarranjo por algũs marinheyros, se apazigou tomando-se por terceyro Paulo de Barros, & tornando a votar de novo, & tendo votado o Padre Frey Antonio chamou a todos sem faltar pessoa, & lhes propoz como os votos estavam recebidos, se erão contentes de aceytar por Capitão o que sahissem por elles; & responderão todos, que si, tirando o Padre o papel declarou, que Antonio Carvalho era o Capitão por sahir com oytos votos mais que Jacinto Antonio, a quem se tinham dado os que faltavão. Era Antonio Carvalho marinheyro da Náo casado em Belem, mancebo respeytado de todos, por ter os marinheyros por si, & que, como dissemos foy eleyto por resgatador por se haver perdido na naveta, & ter passado esta Cafraria, & sem embargo de tudo murmurarão algũs da eleyção, que elle aceytou, mandando logo lançar pregão, que nenhũa pessoa resgatasse cousa algũa sob pena de ser castigado, & sendo comprehendido hum marinheyro da Náo o mandou correr o arrayal com barão, & pregão, & duas galinhas ao pescoço, que foy o resgate, que se lhe achou, cousa, que elle sentio tanto, o sentimento com o trabalho do caminho lhe tirou a vida, dentro de quinze dias.

A vinte & quatro de Outubro marchamos pela varze adiante, com algũs atoleyros trabalhosos, os quaes passados nos esperavão innumeraveis Cafres estendidos em ordem, com panellas de leyte, & galinhas, que se lhe resgatarão, sendo causa de se marchar menos este dia, assentando o arrayal entre hum mato bayxo, com boas vigias no nosso gado. Pela manhã nos levamos, passando hum rio de agua doce duas vezes com a agua pela cinta, descobrindo-se o mar pela boca do rio, que pareceo alto, porque fazia dentro hum grande mar, & muytos alagadiços na enchente da marè, aonde os Cafres tinham suas camotas para o peyxe. Bota hũa ponta a Les-Sueste alta, & grossa de areia, cuberta de mato, fazendo hũa enseada acomodada para qualquer embarcação. Marchamos este dia com grande orvalho, & frio, & muyto trabalho, pelos muytos atoleyros, que passamos, seguindonos os Cafres com resgate, para que assentamos hum pouco, & tornando a marchar por diante, avistamos sobre a tarde hum rio caudaloso, que vindo enchendo a marè nos hia cobrindo o caminho, apressa-

damente, que passamos com grande ancía, caindo em muytas covas de Elefantes, & cavalloos marinhos, que achamos cubertas, & alagadas com agua, que dava pelo pescoço. Com este trabalho, & aguaceyro, que padecemos chegamos a assentar junto á praya, aonde acodirão os Cafres, servindo-nos de lenha, & agua por pedacinhos de cobre, grande alivio por virmos muy destroçados donde nos levamos pela manhã, passando o vao com agua pela cintura, & achando a marè vazia marchamos pela praya duas legoas, passando outro rio em dous braços, em que vierão Cafres em som de guerra com azagayas, & rodela, que os cobrião, pelo que nos ajuntamos, o que visto por elles largarão as armas acodindo com muytas galinhas, que se lhe resgatarão havendo algũas desordens no resgatar, & desgostos entre todos, & intentando-se castigar a hum Religioso por resgatar a hũa galinha, & a outro velho, & grave chegou hum marinheyro a pôr as mãos violentas dando com elle em terra, com grande dor, & sentimento de todos, perdendo-se o respeyto a toda a pessoa grave.

Seguindo nossas jornadas viemos aos dous de Novembro á boca de hum rio largo, & de grande corrente, sendo necessario obrar hũa jangada para o passar em bayxamar, esperamos para outro dia, resgatando muytas bolanhas, fruta á feyção de laranjas amarelas de casca grossa, & dura com miolo de bom gosto. Nesta noyte sentimos grande reboliço, por causa de dous cavalloos marinhos, que sabindo do rio passarão por entre o nosso gado com grande estrondo, parecendo-nos que erão Cafres, que cometião o arrayal. Ao dia seguinte enviou o Capitão Antonio Carvalho da Costa, quatro pessoas com armas a descobrir Cafres, que nos ensinassem o vao do rio, & tornando com alguns, disserão, que hũa legoa dalli o havia, para onde marchámos logo por caminho bem roim, & em parte perigoso por causa de Elefantes com suas armadilhas, em que perdemos dous boys, de que se tirou hum com grande trabalho. Chegando aonde se havia de passar o rio o fizemos sendo bem largo, & de muytos lodos, de que não podiamos sahir, senão trabalhosamente, com a agua pelo pescoço, acodindo sobre nõs tantos Cafres, que foy necessario matar o Capitão hum á espingarda, com que se alargarão, deyxandonos passar á outra parte, que era hũa ilha, de que logo sahimos por outro braço de rio, com agua pelos peytos, deyxandonos muyto quebrantados. Nesta Ilha nos ficou hum China de Antonio de Camara de Noronha dormindo, & achando

a marè chea, quando acordou não pode passar, vindo depois só ter com nosco dahi a dous dias escapando dos Barbaros, por trazer huma escopeta comsigo. Passado este rio, que chamão das Pescarias, tornamos a marchar com Cafres em nosso seguimento com suas armas, que entendemos nos querião assaltar. Chegamos a passar a noyte, & descansar do trabalho passado, junto a hum regato de agua, em que resgatamos dous carneyros, que se repartirão por ranchos.

Marchando mais sete legoas o dia seguinte, assentamos junto a hũa ribeyra de boa agua doce, com arvoredos aprasivel, á vista de hũa povoação grande, a quem os praticos chamavão o lugar do Sorcor, pelo haver sido para elles, quando passarão do naufragio da naveta. Vierão logo Cafres com dous carneyros, & algũas aboboras, que se lhe resgatarão, tornando ao outro dia com mais resgate. Lançamos o nosso gado a pastar por vir necessitado disso, com a vigia costumada dos grumetes, os quaes se lançarão a dormir, metendo as vacas em hum canaveal, de que os Cafres derão fé, & do descuydo com que as vigiavão, & nos levirão quinze cabeças das melhores, que havia no rebanho, em que entravão algũas mansas, que nos servião para a carga, & gritando hum grumete, que se acodisse ao gado, que o levavão os Cafres furtado, sahio do arrayal o Capitão Antonio Carvalho primeyro com a pressa, que o caso requeria, & alcançando os negros, se tornirão os nossos com nove vacas, ficando-lhe seis de preza, porque lhe tomamos nove vitelas, & nove carneyros, & nove cabras, & outros tantos cabritos. Sobre a tarde decerão da povoação, tocando asoucos, de que usão nas occasioens de guerra, a que sahirão alguns do arrayal com escopetas, & pouca ordem, sem mais prevenção, que a carga, que levavão no cano, & marchando pelo monte assim a avançarão a povoação dos Cafres, em que dispararão a primeyra carga, sem matar, nem ferir algum, com que cobrou o inimigo animo, sahindo aos nossos, que lançarão a fugir de maneyra, que chamando a que delRey, que os matabão, não se dêrão por seguros senão dentro nas barracas do arrayal, saindo feridos algum, que quiz ter mão, & outros bem moidos a pancadas. - Salvador Pereyra passageyro, que nas occasiões em que se achou fez sempre, o que se deve a bom soldado, sahir desta com duas zagayadas perigosas, & o Mestre Jacinto Antonio sobre o moerem bem o recolhemos com quatro zagayadas, duas na cabeça, hũa na mão, & outra nas costas

perigosas, sendo causa desta covardia, & desordem, os que mais se davão por alentados, & forão os primeyros que virárão as costas, sem prestarem para empregar huma bala em hum de tantos Barbaros.

Serrou-se a noyte, curando-se os feridos com azeyte de coco, & o arrayal com boas, & dobradas vigias, esperando todo o successo, preparárão-se vinte pessoas para hirem o dia seguinte dar nas povoações, & com a manhãa começárão os Cafres com gritas, decer para o arrayal brandindo azagayas, chegando tão perto, que foy forçado sahir lhe por nos não investirem nas tendas, que seria a total ruina nossa, segundo erão determinados. As primeyras espingardadas sahio hum Cafre mal ferido, que sendo visto dos mais lançárão a fugir, & os nossos Capitaneados por Antonio Carvalho da Costa, tras elles em melhor ordem, ficando o arrayal encomendado a Antonio da Camara de Noronha, por estar doente. Chegamos á sua povoação, a que se poz o fogo, & a mais oyto, carregando os nossos moços, & grumetes, do que se achou dentro, tornárão ao arrayal, sem receber dano, saindo desta melhor, & repartindo-se o despojo igualmente, havendo já vinte dias, que senão comia, mais que vaca, sem outra cousa.

A oyto de Novembro levandonos deste sitio pela praya com boa ordem, & vigia no gado, tendo marchado hum pouco nos sahirão de hum mato muytos Cafres armados, trazendo comsigo vacas para meter com as nossas, & levallas todas, porque as trazem tão costumadas a seus asovios, que com elles as fazem correr, & parar á sua vontade. Domingos Borges de Sousa se adiantou a tomar huma mouta, com que se encobrio, & della fez tiro a hum dos Cafres, que mais esgares vinha fazendo, o matou com hum pelouro, fugindo os mais com o seu gado sem pararem, nem intentarem fazernos outro mal. Livres já destes Barbaros marchamos apressadamente por ser a jornada larga, & vir caindo muyta chuva, com grande trevoada. E chegando a hum rio, em que andavão Cafres pescando, com muyto peixe já junto na praya, em nos vendo o deyxárão, fugindo com pressa, sendo tanto, que comeo todo o arrayal em abastança delle este dia, & o outro, aonde nos ficou enterrado Bartholomeu Rodrigues enteado do Piloto Gaspar Rodrigues Coelho.

Passado o rio de vazante, o outro dia com agua pelo pescoço, & bem roim vao, com grande vento, & frio que fazia, tornamos a marchar pela praya atè chegar a hum ribeyro de boa agua, sinco

legoas do rio de Santa Luzia, & porque se dizia, que até elle não havia outra agua, ficamos aquelle dia neste sitio refrescando-nos, matando vacas para marchar o outro dia, o que fizemos pela praya, levando cada hum seu cabaço de agua, com grande molestia, que logo vasamos por ir dando com infinita agua, que decia por montes talhados á praya em mais de sincoenta partes. Tendo marchado quatro legoas, atravessando por dentro de hum areal com serras de area, que se hião ás nuvens, & sem mato. Chegamos ao rio de Santa Luzia assentando o arrayal na sua praya entre muytos espinheyros verdes, considerando o rio na boca impossivel de passar, por ser muyto largo, & furioso, nem dar socego no encher, & vazar, que parecia hum mar d'Espanha. Abrimos cacimbas para nós, & para o gado, & não achando madeyra para jangada, nem as vacas cousa que comer, passando aqui dia de São Martinho, se assentou tornassemos para tras, metendonos pela terra dentro, até achar vao, pois não tendo modo para o passar na boca, toda a detença era arriscar o gado, vida, & remedio de todos. Neste rio ouve algum dos que resgatavão para o arrayal, & os que servião neste ministerio, que trazendo milho, & grãos escondidos, & furtado ao comum, o começarão a vender a dous xerafins hum covilhete de cobre raso, recebendo logo o dinheyro a quem o tinha, ou penhores de ouro a quem o queria, crecendo o preço por diante assim como crecia a falta, até chegar a quatro cruzados, o que acabou de malquistar de todo o novo Capitão Antonio Carvalho, pelo consentir, & fomentar, em que dava a entender ser tambem parte nesta onzena, expondo muytos á morte por esta causa. Sendo, que este homem no mais fez sua obrigação para conservarnos a nós, & ao gado, como fez até o Reyno de Unhaca, em que fez entrega do governo outra vez a Antonio da Camara de Noronha, mas não nos admiremos de que este homem sendo marítimo faltasse em algũa cousa, quando muytos com diferentes obrigaçoens de sangue, & officio se deyxarão vencer do vil interesse, cometendo por elle cousas indecentes de se dizer, & escrever.

Guiados por dous companheyros nossos, que o dia de antes tinham sahido a descobrir, nos levamos deste rio outra vez para traz, & chegando junto a elle, depois de haver marchado por muytas serras de area buscando caminho por entre hum mato, em que demos, não o achando, fomos assentar o arrayal dali longe entre capim alto, chovendonos assaz aquella noyte, ficando a agua para beber mais de meya legoa, a que se foy buscar, com

trabalho, dando com hũa fruta, a que chamão leyteyra, de que nos abastamos, por ser madura. E Salvador Pereyra com hũas pessas de valia de mil cruzados, que lhe havião faltado, tirando hum penhor para comprar milho. Amanhecendo-nos nos deparou Deos dous Cafres, a quem se deu cobre, por nos guiarem a buscar o vao do rio, & levandonos por areaes, & matos tal vez altos, demos em hũa sementeyra de aboboras, & melancias verdes, de que não escapou alguma, que se não comesse, decendo a hũa varze, perto de suas povoaçoens, nos ensinárão o caminho bem assombrado, com muytas sementeyras, resgatando tabaco verde, chegamos a hum braço do rio de Santa Luzia, que passamos com muytos atoleyros, & alagadiços, & agua pela cinta, & no segundo braço, que mete pela terra dentro tres legoas, fizemos alto para passar a noyte, com pouca lenha, & estacas necessarias para armar barracas, enterrando neste sitio a Manoel Alvres Pequenino, marinheyro da Náo, a quem hum grumete seu camarada, que depois veyo a morrer no Cabo das Correntes havia trazido ás costas quatro dias, por não poder marchar, dando prova de bom amigo, aonde não havia achar, nem filho para pay.

Ao Sabbado dezasete do mez, marchamos pela terra dentro com vista de alegres campos, povoados de Elefantes, sem conto, passando outro braço do rio de Santa Luzia, com grandes alagadiços, em que nos detivemos, quasi o dia todo, para poder passar o gado. Dando graças a Deos por nos deyxar passar com bem hum rio tão caudaloso, que com o das medão do ouro, que tinhamos pela proa erão só o transe, que temiamos, & por toda a viagem traziamos em grande cuydado. Sahidos deste trabalho fizemos alto para passar a noyte em hũa campina, em que se matou vaca para todo o arrayal. Marchando o outro dia a terra dentro mais de sete legoas, buscando agua para fazer noyte, demos em hum rio aprasivel, cuberto de arvoredos, & passado com agua por sima da perna, fizemos noyte entre hum alto capim, que servio de cama molle, & aparecendo o dia seguinte Cafres, nos deyxamos ficar, para resgatar algum gado, que já nos hia fazendo falta. Levados daqui por hũa charneca, marchamos atè a tarde, que paramos em hum mato alagadiço, á vista de hũa grande varze, porque passava hum rio, a que não achamos vao, aonde dormimos, vendo-se bandos de Elefantes sem numero, sem chegarem a nós, donde tornamos o outro dia para traz, por se não poder vadear o rio, sendo o caminho, que tomamos pela terra

dentro de muyto enfadamento, pelos grandes alagadiços, & atoleiros, em que o gado deu muyto trabalho a tirallo, & aos que carregavão mais, buscando sitio, para descansar, por nos não atrever a mais, o tomamos defronte de hũas palhotas destroçadas, de que nos sahirão dous Cafres a vender lenha, & agua, matando aquella tarde gado para todos, passamos a noyte, & tornando a marchar pela manhã, chamamos hum dos dous Cafres, dandolhe hũa pequena de carne, de que são amicissimos, & hum pedaço de cobre, lhe pedimos nos fosse guiando, o que elle fez por montes, & valles, huma legoa & mea, & lançando a correr nos deyxou, tomando hũs por hum caminho & outros por outro, nos tornamos ajuntar á vista do rio do dia d' antes, marchando por elle assima, por se lhe não achar vao, o fomos passar mais de tres legoas, com agua pelo pescoço, á vista de muytas povoações, & Cafres, que decérão dellas a nos esperar com muytas vacas. E assentando em hum campo fermoso, acodirão logo com leyte, & galinhas, que se repartirão pelos doentes, não havendo neste sitio milho, sendo que não faltavão sementeyras delle, mas estava ainda em erva. Dia de Apresentação de nossa Senhora vinte hum de Novembro, resgatamos todas as vacas, que quizemos, & supposto, que por mais preço, que as outras, prefizemos cento, & quarenta cabeças vivas, com que partimos. Avendo descansado tres dias, deyxando enterrado ao longo rio João Barbosa, criado do Conde do Prado Dom Luis de Sousa, que do Reyno veyo com o Vice-Rey Pedro da Sylva, & na India servio de Ouvidor da Cidade de Damão, & do Reyno de Japanapatão.

Levados daqui, com poucas forças, pela continuação da vaca cozida, & assada sem outra cousa não ajudar a quem levava tanto trabalho, adoecendo algũs por esta causa, tendo passado aquelle rio, que se dizia ser hum dos braços do das medão do ouro, não deyxando os negros de seguirmos com vacas, resgatando aboboras, melancias, & tabaco de folha. As resgatadores do arrayal propuserão, que atè o Reyno de Unhaca não havia gado, que lhes parecia, fazerse mais resgate, & levarem as vacas necessarias; porque o cobre não tinha valia por diante, & para este effeyto se desfizessem os caldeyrões, pois não faltavão panelas em que se cozinhasse, para o que recolherão alguns, que seus donos resgatarão, por cobre que derão, a quem foy deste parecer, & depois lhe servio no Cabo das Correntes, para seu resgate, sendo certo, que por toda a Cafraria he mais estimada o cobre, &

latão, que toda a roupa, por estas, & outras semelhantes se malquistava o Capitão Antonio Carvalho, consentindo se obrassem em hum arrayal de tanta gente boa, que elle levava á sua conta.

Sendo os negros de tão boa natureza, marchando até hum rio que passamos com agua pelo giolho, os deyxamos, indo fazer noyte duas legoas a diante, em huma charneca com agua, a vista de palhotas, de que nos sahirão com muyto leyte, & aboboras, & ao dia seguinte com vacas, em que por serem caras não conser-tamos, nem em algũs dentes de marfim, que querião resgatar, deste sitio nos levamos depois de jantar, com grande calma, marchando perto de tres legoas, até hũa ribeyra de agua doce, em meyo de hum campo cercado de mato, em que fizemos noyte, sahindo delle algũs Cafres com peyxe a resgatar, & dandose-lhe cobre o tomárão, sem largar o peyxe da mão, antes ameaçando com as azagayas lançarão a fugir, com cobre, & peyxe para o mato, sahindo em quanto não veyo a noyte em magotes a dar coqueadas, a qual entrou com tão grande trevoada de chuva, & fusis, que parecia virse o Ceo abayxo, molhãdo-se todas as espingardas, que nos detiverão pela manhã em alimpalas, & fazer de comer do gado, que se matou á tarde, & antes que marchassemos se nos vierão atravessar no caminho, preparando suas azagayas com grande grita, pedindo em sua lingua o gado, a que Paulo de Barros, que hia na dianteyra deu a reposta, matando á espingarda hum, que se quiz chegar, lançando os mais a fugir, a que seguimos, saindo do mato ao campo, aonde prantearão ao morto grande copia de Cafras, & descobrindo hũa campina ouvemos vista de algũa gente de chapeo, que com hum na ponta de hũa astea de lança vinhão gritando para quem sahio o Capitão Antonio Carvalho com outros, cuydando ser estrangeyros da embarcação, que achamos quebrada na praya, & achando serem da perdição do Galeão Sacramento nossa Capitania, com a mayor lastima tornarão com os miseros naufragantes em sua companhia, que só sinco Portuguezes, & hum Canarim, & hum mulato, & outro Malavar, & hum Cafre a quem abraçamos todos, com tantas lagrimas, como quem se via em terra de Barbaros, tão longe do natural, & por causa tão lastimosa, como a da perdição de taes embarçaçoens, com tanta gente, & riquezas. Vendo nove pessoas sem armas atravessarem hum caminho tão comprido com tantos Barbaros, que cada ora armavão siladas, de que Deos os livrou deyxando os mais companheyros, que

escapárão do naufragio, huns mortos a mãos de Cafres, & os mais á da fome, & trabalho, & outros ficando vivos por lhe faltarem as forças para marchar. Estes nove erão Manoel Luis Estrinqueyro do Galeão a quem elegerão por Capitão, & Marcos Peres Jacome Sotapiloto, & o Calafate, & dous grumetes Portuguezes, & hum mulato, & hum Canarim, & dous escravos, que todos marchárão em nossa companhia atè sestearmos com grande calma debayxo de hũas arvores diante de hum rio de agua doce, mais de legoa, & meya, donde sahimos, levados daqui demos sobre a tarde com hũa figueyra carregada de figos de Portugal, tão maduros, & sasonados, que assentando-se o arrayal ao pé, sobindo-se alguns assima, colhendo, & abanando, cahirão tantos, que nos detivemos mais de hora & meya, comendo até abastar, & levando os que pudemos, ficando a arvore tão carregada, como se não houverão bolido nella, a poucos passos depois fizemos noyte agasalhando os novos companheyros do Galeão, contando seu naufragio, até entrar o sono, & logo hũa tormenta desfeyta de chuva, vento, & fuzis, não deyxando barraca em pé, mais que a do Padre Fr. Antonio de São Guilherme.

Com a tormenta que nos entrou vespóra de Santo Antonio ao Galeão, & Náo Atalaya (contavão elles) ficou o Galeão sem vella grande, tendo ferrado entrando o tempo a gavea, que levava dada, & com o papafigo ao primeyro passaro, na volta de Les-Nordeste navegamos com o farol acceso, com grande trabalho, abrindo muyta agua, que passado o tempo foy estancando, trazendo já algũas trincas dadas, que nestas occasiões são de effeyto. Como amanheceo, vendonos sem a Náo, fugindo aos mares, que erão grandes, voltámos sobre a terra, em cuja demanda nos entrou outro temporal dia de São João, passado o qual, fomos seguindo viagem para o Cabo de Boa Esperança, sem largar a terra de vista depois que a vimos, & indo com o traquete na sua volta muyto perto della, dia de S. Pedro á tarde vinte nove de Junho, com grandes mares, foy advertido o Piloto mòr, se fizesse ao mar, o que fez hũa empulheta, antes do Sol se pòr marchando-se naquella volta seis empulhetas do quartinho & oito do quarto da prima, rendido elle, entrando o da madorna se tornou a marear com o mesmo traquete na volta de terra, & ás seis empulhetas saindo a Lua, os da vigia dérão fé de terra muyto perto, & avisando, mandou o Piloto marear para o mar, sendo o vento pouco, & a agua tirava para a terra muyto, &

estando o Galeão meyo arribado o não acabou de fazer, por mais diligencias, que lhe fizeram largando a gavia de proa, & cevadeira, sem querer já mais arribar, antes tornando com a proa para a terra, sempre foy duas horas para ella contra o leme, & mareação, até que com hum grande mar tocando aquilha do mastro grande para a popa, de maneyra, que logo se foy desfazendo, caindo ao mar as duas varandas, com todo o espelho da popa, & o Capitão mòr Luis de Miranda Henriques, & o Padre Sebastião da Maya da Companhia de Jesus, & outra muyta gente, que depois de acudirem assim, & verem não havia outro remedio, mais que perderse, se recolherão ás varandas confessando-se, não escapando de todos hum só, & dos mais que ficarão á proa, hũs nas vergas, & outros em pedaços de paos chegamos a terra já dia claro com grandes mares, & recifes setenta, & duas pessoas vivas, em altura de trinta & quatro graos, onde estivemos onze dias, sem ver já mais Cafre, nem pessoa viva, & refazendonos de algũa cousa, que o mar levou a terra, que foy pouco, começamos a marchar hum mez, até achar indicio da perdição & no lugar della huma Cafrinha, & dous Cabrinhas aleyjados, de quem soubemos o succedido á Náo, & como havia vinte oyto dias tinham marchado deste lugar, em que tomamos polvora, & ballas, de que vinhamos faltos, & comendo algũs couros de canastras, que achamos, tornamos a marchar até dar com D. Barbora, que achamos viva junto a Joanna do Espirito Santo a Beata, o Piloto, & Escrivão mortos, que nos lastimou assás, pedidonos a trouxessemos, & perguntando-lhe se podia andar: respondeo, que não, com que a deyxamos, marchando por diante, até o rio da Náo Belem, aonde chegamos dez, ficando os mais mortos ás mãos dos Cafres, & da fome, deyxando-se alguns ficar vivos por não poderem marchar, chegando todos a padecer tanta fome, & miseria, que não ficou calçado, nem cousa algũa, que senão comesse, até huma carta de marear, que matou a todos os que della comérão, a respeito do solimão das tintas, chegando a andar ás punhadas sobre hum gafanhoto, que he o que se póde dizer, havendo dia de sinco, & de seis mortos á pura fome.

Do rio da Náo Belem em diante, supposto que poucos, & com grandes sobresaltos, que cada hora tinhamos destes Barbaros, seguimos sempre o rasto do arrayal, achando de quando em quando sinaes delle, & nos mesmos Cafres novas, de que Deos nos livrou até o presente, deyxandonos encontrar todos.

Passado o riguroso temporal amanheceo o dia vinte, & oito de Novembro, & levando nós em nossa companhia dous Cafres da terra para nos ensinar o caminho, por hum pedaço de vaca, & outro de cobre, que se lhe deu, fomos marchando guiados por elles para o rio das medãos de ouro, a que chegamos pelas oyto horas, admirando a travessa, & largura, que tinha a todos, porque apenas se via a terra da outra parte, metendo em meyo mais de tres legoas de agua, a que nos lançamos, levando os Cafres diante com a entrada trabalhosa, & agua pelos peytos. O dia frio com vento, & maretta, paçamos com o fato na cabeça, & o gado no meyo, sendo agua já mais bayxa por bayxo da sinta, chegando junto á terra da outra parte, fazia outro canal pelo pescoço, de que acabamos de sahir pelas tres horas da tarde, tão destroçados, & moidos, como se póde considerar, de que louvamos a Deos, pela merce de acharmos estes Cafres, sem os quaes era impossivel cometer este vao, por ser tão largo como o mar de Lisboa, ao Barreyro aonde nos ficárão afogados dous moços de Salvador Pereyra hum China, & outro Borneo, descанçamos aquella tarde, & noyte, & ao dia seguinte marchamos pela terra dentro á vista da praya, caminho muyto povoado, em que nos sahião com aboboras, melancias, & bolangas, & tabaco, com que viemos passando, sem milho, nem ameyxoeyra, por não ser ainda novidade, & nesta parage, & quasi em toda a Cafraria avia sinco annos, que não chovia, causando grandes fomes, & praga de gafanhotos, que por onde passavão não deixavão erva verde. O caminho da praya até o Reyno de Unhaca não he acertado, por ser seco, sem agua, & grandes serras de area, de que por vezes nos afastamos, por esta causa, quando algũa forçados, chegavamos a ella.

Em dous de Dezembro, havendo aquella manhã rodeado, por entre matos, trabalhosamente hũa alagoa, sahimos a hũa campina rasa, em que descанçamos. Levado o arrayal dalli, foy marchando até á noyte, pela mesma campina, fazendo alto junto a huns carcos de agua, achando menos hum marinheyro, por nome Pedro Gaspar, casado em Lisboa, Mestre sapateyro, que foy na calçada de Pè de Navaes, que caindo em pobreza com filhos, viera na mesma Náo á India, buscar hum parente, que o remedeasse, & tornava para sua casa com remedio. Esta noyte toda passamos com fogos, para este homem poder atinar com o arrayal, que impossivel fora deyxar de o ver se o buscára. O dia

seguinte se enviarão seus camaradas atraz onde havia descansado ao jantar, tornando sem elle, nem novas suas, variamente se discoreo sobre este particular, sem acerto, & desenganados, que não apparecia, marchamos por diante, resgatando cada hum para si, como queria ameixoeira, & galinhas, aboboras, & melancias, até chegar a hum rio caudaloso, que logo a mayor parte do arrayal, que se adiantou, passou com agua pelo pescoso, & por vir enchendo a marè, & não ser possivel vadear, ficou o rancho do Padre Fr. Antonio, & outros, dormindo entre o mato pegado ao rio, a que lhe acodio muyto resgate de peyxe, & galinhas, com que passamos atè que a marè deu lugar, o outro dia a nos ajuntar com os mais aonde vimos o primeyro Cafre, que falando Portugues nos chamou matalotes, dizendo, que na Ilha do Quiufine estavam dous Pangayos, alegrando-nos assaz, pelo receyo, que traziamos de não achar pataxo de Moçambique.

Juntos com os mais da outra parte, passamos entre hum fermoso arvoredado com boa agua dous dias, aonde acodio tanto resgate de peyxe, & sal, que foy o primeyro, que vimos, ameyxoeira, milho, mel, manteyga, ovos, galinhas, cabras, & carneyros tudo em tanta abundancia, que nos parecia estar em hũa ribeyra bem provida, resgatando todos com liberdade, por panos, & trapos velhos podres, de qualquer modo que fossem, como não tivessem buraco.

Daqui nos levamos aos treze de Dezembro, marchando com muytos Cafres em nossa companhia, passando este dia duas trevoadas de muyta chuva, chegamos a fazer noyte junto a hũa legoa, depois de hum mato espeso, de que nos levamos pela manhã quatorze de Dezembro pela praya, & tendo marchado por ella hũa legoa, achamos muytos Cafres para nos guiar, com muita festa pela terra dentro, porque marchariamos outra legoa, até chegar á Corte do Rey Unhaca, por outro Sangoan onde o achamos assentado em hũa esteyra á sua porta debayxo de hũa arvore, em que ao costume dos Cafres tinha suas insignias reaes, que erão hũa cabeça de vaca com sua armação, & na mesma arvore huma astea muyto comprida amarrada ao alto, & na ponta hum arco, & frecha embebida, estava o velho Rey com hum lençol de cotonia almagrada cuberto, com o seu lingoa em pè, pelo qual nos saudon, agasalhandonos com bom animo, dando novas do pataxo de Mozambique, ser chegado á Ilha de Quiufine, doze legoas deste Reyno, suposto não ter ainda assentado feytoria nesta Unhaca como he costume. Depois do que, nos mandou

aposentar pelas palhotas, que havia acodindo muyto resgate de ameyxoeira, galinhas, batatas, manteyga, peyxe, que cada hum comprava a gosto por pedaços de camizas, & calções, & toalhas, & toda a sorte de roupa, de maneyra, que em quinze dias, que aqui passamos sempre sobejou resgate. Mandando o Rey ao Almirante Antonio da Camara, a quem Antonio Carvalho tinha á vista de Unhaca feyto entrega do governo do arrayal, hũa pequena de ameyxoeira, & hũs tasalhos de cavallo marinho respondendose-lhe com dous borrifadores de prata, & hum pano com bordas de seda, & hũa peça de corte de Baroche. Estes Cafres com o trato, & conhecimento dos Portuguezes são grandes mercadores, entereseyros, & desconfiados, que primeyro hão de receber o pano, quel arguem o resgate, que vendem por elle.

Como aqui se não davão novas do pataxo com a serteza, que desejavamos pareceo mandar pessoa nossa, que a trouxe, do que havia, avisando ao Capitão delle, da nossa chegada, & perdição, & assim se despedio dous dias depois Antonio Carvalho com seis Portuguezes, & dous Cafres da terra, para o guiarem até a Ilha do Quiufine, a que passárão os nossos com muyto trabalho, onde achárão hũa galeota, sendo da gente della bem hospedados por o Capitão Diogo Velho da Fonseca natural de Villa Frãca de Xira, casado, & morador em Moçambique, ser ido assentar as feytorias do Manhisa Manoel Bombo, & Locondone, donde sendo avisado da nossa perdição, & chegada a Unhaca, como bom vassallo de S. Magestade, que Deos guarde, mandou logo com os mesmos hum Mouro Piloto com roupa para o gasto dos caminhos, & a barquina, & Lusio de resgate para passar os rios de Libumbo, & Machavane. Chegados Antonio Carvalho, com os que o acompanhárão, dando tão boas novas as festejamos com admostração de alegria que cada hum sentio, mòrmente sabendo, que havia quatro annos não tinha vindo outro pataxo, mais que este, que atribuímos a beneficio, & merce de Deos, que seja sempre louvado, por sua Divina Providencia.

A vinte oito de Dezembro, com algũs Cafres, que nos quinze dias, que aqui passamos travárão com nosco amisade, nos levamos deste Reyno de Unhaca atravessando a terra por junto a hũa lagoa grande, & algumas povoações, até hum rio que vadeamos com agua pela sinta, & marchamos este dia assás com muyta calma, chegamos tarde ao Reyno de Machavane, mais rico, &

poderoso, que o Sangoan, o qual nos sahio ao caminho nù, com hũa capa de couro ás costas, aonde passamos a noyte, & ao outro dia mandou ao Almirante hũa vaca, respondendo-lhe com hũa suca branca. Levados d'aqui aos trinta do mez, sahio o Rey acompanhando o arrayal diante hum legoa, despedindo-se de todos com grandes cortesias, enviando em nossa companhia para nos guiar hum seu parente, até o rio Machavane, a que chegamos ao meyo dia, & por ser muy rebatado, & caudaloso, era forçado passarse em canoas, em que começamos a passar, ficando meyo arrayal para o outro dia, esta tarde passando tres grumetes em hũa destas canoas, abrio hũa agua de repente por hum buraco, que levava tapado com lodo, & indo-se apique, não deu lugar mais, que a nadar, affogando-se hum por nome Antonio Jorge, & os mais trabalhosamente sahirão a terra. Passados todos á outra parte com o gado, que ainda erão mais de quarenta vacas de carga, marchamos para o Reyno de Tembe Velho, em que fizemos noyte, saindo elle ao Almirante com hum capado, porque se lhe deu hũa peça de corte pintada, & levados daqui o dia seguinte, sendo a jornada larga, fomos anoytecer ao Reyno de Tembe Moço, poderoso Rey em gente, & gado aonde padecemos hũa trevoada tão medonha, com tanta chuva, & rayos, que não ficou barraca em pé, sendo forçado passar alli outro dia, repartindo-se hũa vaca, que o Rey deu para comer, & as nossas, que tirando as da carga sahio a cada dezoyto pessoas hũa. Aqui se resgatou muyto leyte, & melancias, chegando hum escrito do Capitão da Galeota Diogo Velho da Fonseca, para nos apressar, que nos estava esperando com grande alvoroço, enviando o lusio, para se embarcar todo o fato com os doentes, & o Almirante com os Religiosos na barquinha, & os mais por terra.

Deste Tembe Moço sahimos marchando para o rio de Lebumbo, não nos podendo valer pelo caminho com Cafres com leyte, & melancias tão grandes, como fardos de arroz, comendo antes de chegar á praya em hũa povoação, em que já achamos marinheyros do lusio, que nos levárão pela praya até a passagem, onde nos sahio o Mestre da Galeota Manoel Rodrigues Sardinha, & outros Portuguezes chorando de sentimento, de nos ver perdidos, & com tantos trabalhos, & miserias, porque dèmos graças a Deos, em nos deyxar chegar a ver Portuguezes, & embarcação nossa, em que passamos á outra parte, & aquella noyte na praya todos, deyxando da outra o gado, encomendado a hum Cafre Benamusa, para o

passar á Ilha de Quiufine, como depois fez, pagandose-lhe o trabalho. Estas nossas vacas de carga forão em toda a Cafraria de tanto alivio, & descanso, que a não nos valermos dellas, he certo não chegarem ametade a salvamento, porque de todo o arrayal, só o Padre Fr. Affonso de Beja, com ser velho, & cego, & eu marchamos sempre a pé, o que se notou, para se dar a entender o effeyto de que nos forão estes animaes.

Embarcados no lusio os doentes com todo o fato, & na barquinha o Almirante, & Religiosos, derão á vela Sabbado quatro de Janeyro, & os que restarão marchamos por terra, com Domingos Borges de Sousa por Capitão, & o Padre Fr. Diogo da Apresentação, & eu em sua companhia, levando o Mouro Piloto por guia, com o qual marchamos aquelle dia por muytas povoações, sesteando em huma com muytas galinhas, leyte, melancias, & bolangas, & tendo marchado tres legoas, fizemos alto, para passar a noyte. Tornando a marchar o dia seguinte sedo, para chegar a tempo de poder ouvir Missa no lugar, em que a galeota estava, a qual descobrimos pelas oito horas do dia, havendo passado grandes atoleiros, grande foy a alegria, que sentimos com esta vista, & tal ouve, que o não acabava de crer, considerando nos trabalhos, fomes, sedes, frios, & calmas, por que havia passado. Na praya estivemos esperando até á tarde, por não ser chegado o lusio, nem a barquinha, em que passamos por tres vezes, desembarcando da ultima ja de noyte, em hũa Ilha despovoada. Aos sinco de Janeyro vespóra de Reis de 1648 sahindo logo para a Igreja, que se alli faz de palha com a vinda do pataxo, em que ha Capellão; & Missa, a dar graças a Deos, & á Virgem do Rosario, cuja invocação tinha.

O Capitão Diogo Velho da Fonseca, com os mais companheyros da galeota sahio á praya a recebernos com grande amor, & alegria, repartindo o dia seguinte a todos arroz, & ameyxoeira para tres dias, acodindo a muytos com roupa branca, & sapatos, & aos que se valérão depois de sua despesa com doces, & todos os mimos que tinha para doentes, sem os negar a ninguem. Sendo merecedor de muytos agradecimentos, & beneficios, pelo bom modo, & liberalidade, com que se ouve nesta occasião, em que os mais de sua companhia nos vendérão hum fardo de arroz redondo por quatorze cruzados de ouro, & hũa maina de carambolas por seis & meyo, hũa botija de azeyte, & vinagre por dez, hũs sapatos tres, & quatro cruzados, & huma canada de vinho

de Portugal doze cruzados, & outra de nipa quatro, com a mayor onzena, que já mais se vio.

Ao terceyro dia de nossa chegada, se repartio a gente da Náo, & Galeão, que erão cento & vinte & quatro Portuguezes, & trinta negros cativos, pelas cinco feytorias, que já estavam assentadas, vinte legoas pelo rio assima, aonde não faltou comer, para que se dava por conta de S. Magestade tres panos por mez a cada pessoa, ficando na Ilha o Almirante por hospede do Capitão Diogo Velho, & os Religiosos, officiaes, & passageyros da Náo, acomodados por palhotas, que se fazião de novo, & outras, que despejãrão os Lascars da galeota, a quem se pagárão. Passando-se seis mezes nesta Ilha deserta, sem outra sahida mais, que a das feytorias, a que algũs sahião a buscar mantimento, & refresco. Nesta Ilha tinhamos, os que ficamos nella todos os dias a consolação de sinco, & seis Missas, alivio grande, para a peste, que se padeceo nas feytorias, & na Ilha, em que morreo meya gente, lá pela abundancia de muyto comer, & falta de sangrador, & aqui de febres agudas, que não davão lugar á medecina, de que não escapou pessoa, que as não sentisse, & muytas sarnas, porque despejãrão parte de tanto mal, de que faleceo o Padre Francisco Pereyra da Companhia de Jesus, a hum tempo, Salvador Pereyra, o Mestre Jacinto Antonio, Amador Monteyro camarada do Almirante, filho do glorioso martyr Embayxador a Japão, não escapando dos do Galeão mais, que Manoel Luis Estrinqueyro, Marcos Peres Sotapiloto, Francisco Gomes Canarim, & hum Cafre.

Chegando-se o tempo de partir, se vierão ajuntando, os que escaparão nas feytorias, & embarcados todos, levamos ancora a 22 de Junho á tarde, com aguas vivas, por entre balizas, por ser enceeda de muyto bayxo, & chegando a dar fundo na Ilha do Unhaca, resgatamos muytas galinhas, & batatas, & dando á vela dia de S. João, começamos a navegar para Moçambique com trezentas pessoas, brancos, & pretos na galeota, a mayor parte doentes, & mal acomodados, por ser o barco piqueno, chegando a dar fundo em nove de Julho defronte da fortaleza em que morreo Amaro Jorge marinheyro da Náo, natural de Ueyras. Chegando a terra, a que sahio o Capitão Diogo Velho, tornando logo a bordo escandalizado assaz do Governador Alvaro de Sousa de Tavora, com ordem para não sahir ninguem a terra, nem deyxar chegar embarcação abordo mais, que a do Govern-

ador, em que nos levárão a todos á fortaleza, aonde com o Ouvidor & Feytor, & seus Escrivães tirou devaça, assim da perda nas Náos, como dos diamantes, que escapárão. Daqui se recolheo cada hum aonde achou comodo, até ser tempo de embarcar para a India, mandando o Governador soccorrer só aos homens do mar com hũa pãca de arroz, & hum cruzado por mez, tomando algũs, que não erão casados para soldados da força, pela falta que tinha, repartindo-se os mais por tres embarcações que havião de partir para Goa.

A onze de Setembro sahimos á vela com terral, sinco embarcações de Moçambique, tres para Goa, & o pataxo de Dio, & outra para as Ilhas de Comoro, havendo vista do pataxo dos rios de Cuama, porque até então nos fez o Governador esperar, que andava em hũa, & outra volta esperando a viração para entrar. Seguindo nossa derrota, logo se apartárão o pataxo de Dio, & o das Ilhas, navegando os de Goa juntos até dez graos, em que a Urca do Governador na volta do mar, & o pataxo de Francisco Dias Soares na de terra, nos deyxárão na galeota de Thomé Gonçalves de Pangim, em que vinha por Capitão, & Piloto Manoel Soares natural de Lisboa, a quem comprey a camara para passar com os Padres Fr. Antonio de S. Guilherme, & Fr. Diogo da Apresentação meus camaradas, & sendo esta galeota piquena, & roim de vella, o Capitão della se mareou de maneira por calmarias, tormentas, & ventos contrarios, que só ella nesta monção passou a Goa, avistando terra em quarenta & sete dias entre Angediva, & o Cabo da Rama, & por nos faltarem terrenos, & virações, & não saber do estado em que estava a barra de Goa, com parecer que se tomou entre todos voltamos, a entrar na barra de Onor o primeyro de Novembro, sincoenta & dous dias, depois que sahimos de Moçambique. Ao dia seguinte dous de Novembro me parti para Goa com os Padres em hũa manchua de quatorze remos, aonde chegamos, aos oito de Novembro pela manhã, admirando a todos as novas de nosso naufragio, & muyto mais, pelos que este anno havia padecido esta Cidade, perdendo dentro na sua barra hum pataxo, & hũa Caravella carregados para a China com grande riqueza, de que não escapou pessoa viva, até o proprio Géral de Macao Antonio Vaz Pinto, & sete navios de soccorro, carregados para Ceilão, & doze navios d'armada do Canará, sem de todos se salvar nada, com hum terramoto, que não deixou arvore em pé, orçando-se a

perda das palmeiras, na Ilha, & terras de Salcete, & Bardès, em mais de duzentas mil, forá muytas Igrejas, & mangueiras sem conto, sem ter chegado nova, nem embarcação do Reyno, nem da Urca do Governador de Moçambique, em que está o remedio, & cabedal daquella Cidade, & os diamantes, que escapárão das Naos, sentindo-se tambem a perda do Galeão Santo Milagre, escapando algũa gente no abrolho, em que encalhou em seis graos do Sul, de que obrárão hum batel, em que quarenta homens só vierão tomar as Ilhas de Querimba, deyxando os mais no proprio abrolho, sustentando-se de passaros, & tartarugas, faltando-lhe outro si a Náo Pata, que hia do Reyno, & deu á costa nos rios de Cuama, salvando-se a mayor parte da gente, que morreo embarcada para Moçambique com o Governador Alvaro de Sousa da Tavora no seu pataxo dos rios, que deu á costa com temporal, saindo a terra, em que morrérão todos á fome, & sede escapando o proprio Governador com poucos criados trabalhosa-mente. E não sey certo de qual me maravilhe mais, se da certesa, com que os males no mar são sempre certos, se da confiança, com que os que por elle navegação tem para si não ter algum. Digão os Autores estrangeiros, o que lhe parecer, que os segredos do mar, & terra só a nação Portugueza naceo no mundo para os saber descobrir.

FINIS LAUS DEO.

ACCOUNT
OF THE WRECK

OF THE SHIPS *SACRAMENTO* AND *NOSSA SENHORA DA
ATALAYA*, ON THE PASSAGE FROM INDIA TO THE
KINGDOM, AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE; OF
WHICH LUIS DE MIRANDA HENRIQUES
WAS COMMODORE, IN THE
YEAR 1647.

DEDICATED TO
HIS MAJESTY KING JOHN IV, OUR LORD,

BY
BENTO TEYXEYRA FEYO.

LISBON.
WITH ALL THE NECESSARY LICENSES.

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF PAULO CRAESBEECK
IN THE YEAR 1650.

WRECK

OF THE TWO SHIPS OF INDIA

THE *SACRAMENTO* & *NOSSA SENHORA DA ATALAYA* AT THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN THE YEAR 1647.

The most high and mighty king John the fourth of that name, king of Portugal, our Lord, whose life and state God prosper many years according to the needs of his vassals, reigning in India, and Dom Filippe Mascarenhas being viceroy, there set out from Goa for Portugal, on Wednesday the 20th of February of the year 1647, two ships: the flagship the galleon *Sacramento*, Commodore Luis de Miranda Henriques, and the ship *Nossa Senhora da Atalaya*, her consort, Captain Antonio da Camara de Noronha. The viceroy came on board to take leave, and gave orders to weigh anchor one morning as soon as the weather permitted. The officers preparing all things necessary and causing the sails to be loosened, the flagship first unfurled her foresail and spritsail, then the other did the same. There were on board many boats full of friends and relations, whose regrets increased the grief for which the taking leave for so long a voyage was sufficient cause; and thus with many heartfelt tears and wishes for a prosperous voyage we set out with the land breeze, which lasted three hours. Then a slight breeze arose and we kept along the coast to the north-west; and the wind freshening in the night, we continued our course with favourable winds to $10\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$ north latitude.

At daybreak on Saturday the 2nd of March the commodore showed a flag, which we observed, and also a sail, and she being the nearest to the stranger fired two blank shots and forced her to furl her sails and put out a boat, and the commodore sent Manuel Luis on board with a crew. Then all three lying together we remained in her company four days and nights, the

commodore intending that the said vessel should be destroyed during that time, although she carried a license from the viceroy and belonged to the king of Masulipatam, from whom the State of India receives considerable services by his succouring Ceylon in the dangers and famines which occur in that island. The captain, officers, and gentlemen of the ship *Atalaya* being consulted in the matter, disapproved of this, and on the contrary gave reasons why she should be allowed to proceed on her voyage. Thereupon we left her on Tuesday the 5th of March. Men experienced in seafaring were of opinion that the days we remained there without sailing would be disastrous to our voyage, and so we afterwards found in the lack of favourable weather for reaching and passing the Cape of Good Hope.

In the ship on which I embarked the religious took upon themselves to recite the litanies and say mass every day and to preach on Sundays and saints' days; and João da Cruz, the boatswain of the ship, made a very neat sepulchre, in which we had our Lord exposed for twenty-four hours, all confessing and partaking of the communion on Holy Thursday.

On the 12th of March we approached the commodore to learn the cause of his having signalled with three guns, and we found it to be the death of Antonio de Faria Machado, who had been Inquisitor in India for seventeen years, and whose conduct and authority had given great satisfaction. We were grieved on account of it and also of the death of many others who were sick when we left Goa; but many gentlemen and noblemen remained, whose valour and energy afterwards contributed to the salvation of those who escaped so narrowly with their lives.

After crossing the equator we were sailing onward with heavy rains and calms, when from the topmast the look-out shouted loudly "a sail!" This was the galleon *São Pedro*, which had left Goa fifteen days after us, and now overtook us; and she accompanied us for twenty days, after which she parted from us.

On Easter day the 19th of April our captain gave orders to salute the galleon *Sacramento* with seven guns. The ship immediately afterwards sprang a leak, taking in four spans of water, which the slaves and ship boys pumped out twice every day; and this caused great anxiety to those who understood the danger to which we were exposed, because the ship was old and

we were to attempt to pass the Cape in the depth of winter, when the tempests are numerous and such as to give great trouble to new ships.

On the 10th of June, when we had already reached 33° south latitude, with a favourable wind, our maintopmast broke, of which we gave notice to the commodore, and of the leak in the ship, asking that he should remain in our company for a week while we repaired the mast, but the wind freshening it could not be done, nor was there any opportunity afterwards because of what occurred.

On the 12th of June at nightfall the commodore was in our company, and the breeze fell before sunset as we were sailing towards the land with the wind west-north-west. The sky grew very red, with heavy black clouds, and there was one flash of lightning, and we saw a fish *orelhão*, a great portent, all signs of a tempestuous night. Then the wind began to blow harder, and we furled the topsails and spritsail, and the ship lay under her courses during the short watch and first watch. At the setting of the moon the sea rose, and the wind increased so much that the ship pitched and took in a quantity of water, and the yards and catheads dipped into the sea. Order was given to haul down the mainyard, but through fear of the sea and such rough weather and the inexperience of the artillerymen, they hauled in such a way that a gust of wind caught the sail, and the ship broached to in such a violent hurricane that it carried away the mainsail and foresail, tearing them to pieces with such an uproar that we thought the ship must founder.

She lay in this state for a long time, in a cross sea exposed to the fury of the waves, while we could not stand on our feet against the bulwarks with the few then on duty, eight sailors, five artillerymen, four ship boys, and some passengers having died of sickness. With great care we set about availing ourselves of a stormsail which we carried ready in the fore shrouds for the purpose. In the meanwhile the ship lay at the mercy of the waves, with the main yard half mast high with the sail rent from top to bottom, and that of the foresail breaking the standards which were nailed to the bowsprit, while we were unable to cut them down, nor would the weather allow it.

We passed the rest of the night in this state, and the ship battered by the thumping of the yards, with all her timbers

straining, let in ten spans of water. Scudding before this same storm, the morning of the feast of St. Anthony found us bereft of sails and cables, and parted from the commodore; and we prepared ourselves for the next night which threatened to be as dreadful as the last, with storms of hail-stones as big as filberts and much thunder and lightning.

The ship running with the wind astern, which was still very strong, we busied ourselves in removing and taking off the canvas which still remained on the yard, putting a spritsail on the yard, so that if the wind diminished the ship might be governed and escape the waves which threatened to overwhelm us. That day passed and the next, and the weather being calmer we set other sail, never leaving the pumps for a moment. Thus we came in sight of land in 32° , after a few days sailing in quest of it, saying to ourselves that we would profit by its shelter to repair the ship and pump out the water; but nothing was thought of but fishing, though some zealous persons were not wanting to exclaim against the neglect shown in this particular.

The master, Jacinto Antonio, considering the state we were in and the little remedy available, thought it would be wise to put back to Mozambique before the weather rendered everything else impossible for us, where the property and artillery of his Majesty could be secured and help obtained for all. This was at once made known, and Dom Duarte Lobo asked the master when he went down to examine the state of the ship, which was variously reported, to take him and the other officers with him, that they might resolve what was best to be done. This displeased many, because of the business they had in hand and a little cinnamon which had been given to them in Goa, and they intimidated the master and the others who spoke of putting into port, so that nothing more was spoken of than continuing on the way to Portugal. So we proceeded for some days increasing our latitude to double the Cape, never ceasing to work the pumps, at which everyone took his turn without exception, even to the religious.

Therefore we prepared some barrels for buckets, making hoops for them, and clearing the hatchways for wells, though this measure was not of much use, the stowage of the artillery which was made in Goa not being properly done, leaving however four

guns in the hatchway. There was much murmuring that the ship had many knees broken and the main stanchions out of place, so it was urged that by seeking a different latitude better weather would be found and we would be able to get rid of some of the water. Thereupon the master and other officers with the captain went below, without taking Dom Duarte Lobo, as he had requested; and the master, coming up again with three nails from the lining in his hand, said that the ship was fit to go to Jerusalem. Thereupon nothing more was thought of than the voyage to the kingdom and fishing, and we put out to sea again without doing anything proper for a voyage so dangerous and difficult as that which we intended to make.

Returning towards the land with the foresail set on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul from dinner time until night, the pilot Gaspar Rodrigues Coelho ordered the spritsail to be unfurled. As the under-pilot Balthazar Rodrigues told him that land was near, he replied that he had navigated that coast for a long time and there was nothing to fear except what had been seen in the two dog watches. Bras da Costa, a sailor, brother-in-law of the master, who was directing the course from the top, shouted out with great anxiety: "veer off, brothers," and all were thrown into confusion on seeing themselves upon a shoal which is in the sea off Algoa Bay, in eight fathoms of water, which was found on casting the lead, with what affliction to all may easily be imagined by those who have endured the like peril. Speedily we set about unfurling the main-top-sail, hoisting and hauling it down more than a dozen times, in which officers and all assisted, no one failing in his duty. Then the under-pilot Balthazar Rodrigues, who in this strait never lost his mind, cried from the cross-trees from which he was directing the course, that we should not fear, for he would guide the ship where she could pass, while the waves broke on every side, and the ship laboured in great distress and broaching to pitched three times heavily, at the great shock of which such cries arose that it seemed the world was coming to an end.

The boatswain João da Cruz and the ship boys who were labouring at the pumps in like distress joined the others, and our Lord God aided us with a land breeze, by which we got out to sea again. And as in such distress the chief remedy lay in the hands of God and in our own exertions, on this occasion we

all, including the religious, worked so hard that each man was like a hundred. The father friar Antonio de São Guilherme, of the order of Saint Augustine, who was going to Portugal to be superior general of his congregation, worked so hard that when in this danger the father friar Diogo da Apresentação of his order came and asked him to confess him, he replied that this was not a time for anything but labour. And as he was coming on deck to help us the ship pitched twice, and he fell from a ladder and cut his head open, making a great gash in it; but he tied a linen bandage round it, and took no notice of it till the danger was past.

The afternoon before a collection had been made for the Santo Christo do Carmo of Lisbon, and some seeing the ship in such distress and all hope of life gone except in God who preserves it, as is the trust of all, cried out in a loud voice: "Be joyful, brothers, for just now our Lady appeared upon the main-top with a light like a crown of great brilliance." This revived the general hope and courage, for now there was no longer any fear of death. In this way we passed the night, and the ship was so shaken by this labour that she leaked in every seam. We all took to the pumps, and found the water increase; and a great storm which arose next day contributed to this. We sailed with the fore storm-sails, the sea running so high and the ship pitching so heavily that we expected her to part amidships every hour, the waves rising over the lantern and masts, so that the fathers were obliged to relieve each other in the stern every hour and continue blessing the waves, for if they desisted for a moment we were overwhelmed. The under-pilot, who was at the helm, was almost drowned by a wave, and shouted for assistance, being alone, for we were all at the pumps. Our bodily strength was almost gone with the strain of working them, in which the religious and passengers never faltered. Being few, we had the starboard pump under our charge, and the ship boys worked the larboard pump and the Kaffirs the wheel pump. Dom Duarte Lobo and Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira were present day and night from the 13th of June, when this work commenced, assisting those who laboured with encouragement and kind words, for as the stove failed us, all this was necessary and nothing sufficed. The wheel-pump gave us great trouble and anxiety, the chain breaking every hour.

It was ordered that the Kaffirs should work the pumps during the night-watches, but it was not done, and only the two caulkers worked them. Seeing the water increase, they sometimes gave warning of the danger we were in, and they were told not to cause a disturbance in the ship. At daybreak the large hatchway was opened, and the water was found to be above the ballast. Then barrels were diligently prepared to be filled with buckets; but it proved useless, for in less than two hours the water increased so much that with the pitching of the ship the barrels filled of themselves. Then the pipes in the hold and the bales of pepper gradually burst, so that the pumps ceased working altogether, being choked with pepper. At the large hatchway there were only working two barrels of four almudes and two of six, which were continually worked with the capstan. Aft the mainmast, where we opened a hatchway, they worked with two tubs, getting out more pepper than water.

In this danger the ship's prow sank as if she was broken-backed, she would not obey the helm as before, the water was already over the coamings of the lower hatches and the prow more than two spans deeper than the lower deck. We spent two days and two nights in this imminent peril without seeing land, and then we observed at daybreak the point of a ridge thickly wooded, which appeared to be the mouth of a river with a very long sandy beach, and a great bay where it seemed that we could land with the boat dry-shod.

It was determined in counsel that on account of the state of the ship we should run her on shore, throwing the artillery into the sea, which was all pointed through the port-holes constantly, except that of Cuina which was in the hold; but this was not done, being beyond our strength, and only two pieces were thrown overboard. With a favourable wind but a rough sea we unfurled the main topsail, which went to pieces as we hoisted it, and so did the fore topsail; and the spritsail was all torn, and the fore-sail had many seams open; then we tried the mainsail, and as we secured it with the tack, fixing a tack-tackle to assist it, it went to pieces.

At this time the captain had already ordered the gunner, Francisco Teixeira, to put some powder and balls in barrels, and to collect all the arms he could and all the copper and

bronze for the maintenance of the camp, as this is the current coin of Kaffraria, that we might trade for what was necessary. The night was spent in working at the buckets, and the Kaffirs were already on the shore with great fires alight. The next day, the 3rd of July, in the morning we set about preparing the boat to land some of the people, should the sea permit. The wind rose, and raising the anchor we went ahead with the foresail set, and cast anchor in the bay in seven fathoms. The master ordered the main halliards to be cut, and the yard lay across the middle of the deck, that being cut into pieces it might serve some to get ashore.

The boat was launched, with orders that some should go in it with arms and provisions and take up a position on shore, and the others should remain working the pumps and keeping the ship afloat. When the boat reached the breakers, as the current was very strong and it was already late, they did not dare to land, but returned to the ship, saying that the sea offered no place where they could lie, but that there was a great bank with a sheet of shallow water between it and the shore, into which the sea flowed swiftly. Night fell, and when the tide went down the ship began to strike the ground and started the rudder at midnight; therefore we cut down the mainmast and foremast and threw out another anchor that we might not drag; and when the tide rose again we floated in eight fathoms.

At daybreak on Wednesday the 4th of July we collected all the thin ropes and made a surf-line, which we coiled in the boat, with the necessary people, arms, and whatever they could carry in their hands. Leaving one end of the surf-line on board, they rowed towards the shore, and on reaching the breakers the surf was so great that the father friar Diogo da Apresentação gave everyone absolution, each one publicly giving him matter for the same, because of the great danger.

They reached the shore without opposition from the Kaffirs, who did not appear. They landed what they carried, and returned to the ship, and made the second trip with Dona Barbara and Joanna do Espirito Santo, Portuguese women, who embarked with all the negresses we had on board, the captain Dom Sebastião Lobo, and others. Dom Duarte Lobo and the father friar Antonio de São Guilherme remained on board with the officers and myself, for we would not leave

that nobleman, however much he pressed us to embark. All was in confusion, for those who were fit to work went backwards and forwards in the boat, others remained on shore to guard what was landed, and to assist those in the boat, for the people who remained on board were not able even to make a raft or get out a few bags of rice, though there were more than a thousand close at hand with many other eatables, of which only thirty bags were got on shore, and these were wet.

On this day the boat made four trips to the shore, and in the last, when it was almost night, Dom Duarte embarked with the officers at the entreaty of all, and with him went the father friar Antonio and Father Francisco Pereira, of the Company of Jesus. Nothing was permitted to be put in the boat but men, and as they crowded in with the slaves we called for the chaplain, but he would not leave, and said he would remain with his comrades and keep them company, for the night promised to be stormy and there was no one on board to work the buckets. There were seventy persons in the boat, and we reached the shore with difficulty, the boat being sunk to the gunwale, although some of us were swimming.

The boat remained on the beach that night, which those on board the ship passed in great danger. In the morning of the 5th of July Bras da Costa and Paulo de Barros embarked with the others who managed the boat, for these two sailors alone remained in it all the time with great risk and labour, and the others relieved each other. Many left the shore and returned on board, because food was to be had there, which was lacking on shore. The first boat load arrived safely by means of the surf-line. But the second time, the wind freshened quickly and the sea increased, and as they were going from the ship to the shore, although those who were already in the boat tried to prevent it, many crowded in, overloading it. When they were some distance from the ship a Chinese of Dom Sebastião Lobo, who remained on board, cut the surf-line, which was fastened to the cat-head, with a hatchet, so that when the boat reached the breakers, having no line to steady it, it broached to, and was swamped with the seventy persons who were in it, of whom fifty were drowned without those on shore being able to help them. With great difficulty they dragged the boat ashore, where it arrived all shattered, together with those who escaped.

And the sea cast up nothing of the many things which were embarked in it.

On Friday the captain gave orders to repair the boat, and offered five hundred xerafins to any one who would go back in it to the ship to land those who were left; but no one would venture, the waves being very great and the fear inspired by the event of the day before still greater. Those on board afforded a piteous spectacle by their shrieks and cries to heaven, which though they were far off were such as to inspire great grief in those who were on shore. As there was now no refuge in the ship except abaft the mainmast, all the rest being under water, and all hope of the boat was gone, many threw themselves overboard on pieces of wood, and some reached the shore and others perished. The night before they fired a gun for us to assist them.

The following night between Friday and Saturday some of our negroes came ashore and said that there were still white men in the ship, with no refuge but a rail of the poop on which was an image of our Lady of Atalaya; but at daybreak the ship went entirely to pieces, so that only a small hatch came ashore whole, and all the rest was in scattered timber. The sea cast up some of the chests which were on deck, but they were in pieces. To this was the wealth of such a mighty ship reduced, and here many found themselves poor and naked, who a short time before were rich and well clothed.

The captain mustered those who remained, and divided them into three squadrons, taking the passengers for himself and dividing the seamen and ship boys among the officers. He issued an order that all provisions should be brought into the camp and put together, and appointed several men to go along the shore for the purpose, forbidding the others to leave the camp, which we removed into the bush, because on the shore where we landed we were covered with sand. We made shelters as good as canvas tents, in which we lodged, preparing ourselves for our anticipated journey through Kaffraria to Cape Correntes. All the provision found was placed in the camp and guarded. During the eleven days we remained there we suffered greatly from hunger and thirst, because of our lack of provisions and because the water had to be carried from the Infante river, a distance of nearly a league, and it was so bad that many fell

sick through it. In this place died Vicente Lobo de Sequeira, who had the habit of the order of Christ, a native of Macao, who had already been wrecked in these regions in the ship *São João*, and also an artilleryman named Marcos Coelho.

To assist the captain in emergencies there were appointed Dom Sebastião and Dom Duarte Lobo da Silveira, brothers, Domingos Borges de Sousa, lord of Villa and councillor of Alva, who came from the kingdom in this same ship, the fathers friar Antonio de São Guilherme and friar João da Encarnação, the officers of the ship, and the notary, João Barbosa, Francisco Cabrita Freyre being at the point of death. There were three sailors in this wreck who had been cast away in this region four years before in the ship of which Dom Luis de Castelbranco was captain. They had journeyed through Kaffraria to Cape Correntes, and their names were Antonio Carvalho da Costa, Paulo de Barros, and Mattheus Martins. The two first were appointed to barter provisions for the camp, and Aleixo da Silva, a passenger, was appointed factor. On this shore where we landed we found a quantity of very good mussels at low tide, which assisted us in the famine we were enduring.

On the eighth of July Dom Duarte Lobo went with the under pilot Balthazar Rodrigues, Urbano Fialho Ferreira, of the order of Christ, son of Antonio Fialho Ferreira, and others, to the river Infante to measure the altitude of the sun, and they found the latitude $33\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$. The point of a ridge lying to the north-west was thickly wooded, the shore was more than two leagues in length, the coast was bordered with hills of white sand with trees on the top, and the mountain was bare. When they had measured the altitude of the sun an alarm was given that there were Kaffirs on the shore, and signs were made to them to wait. When they approached to speak no one could understand them, because they spoke with clicks. They go naked, and only wear a few skins. They sow no grain, and live only on roots, the produce of the chase, and some shell-fish when they come down to the shore. Their arms are of fire-hardened wood and a few iron assagais.

When Dom Duarte Lobo and the others returned to the camp, the arms, balls, powder, a few cocoa nuts, the copper required for barter, and the lines and hooks for crossing rivers, were all divided and registered in the king's book. The rice was found

to be all musty and rotten, and therefore we hastened our departure the more, burying the copper and powder which were left over.

During the days we remained there the captain consulted with the pilot Gaspar Rodrigues Coelho, the notary Francisco Cabrita Freyre, and other sick persons who could not travel on foot, whether he should order the boat to be prepared for them and give them men to manage it, but the pilot would not accept the offer, and there was no further question about it, though it was the best plan to save these people and the women and sick from perishing, as will be seen hereafter.

Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira was so unfit for walking, being very much burdened with flesh and having other complaints, that he could not take a few steps on his feet; and therefore he asked the ship boys, and the officers to persuade them, and it was arranged through the intervention of his brother Dom Duarte Lobo, who was beloved by all, that they should carry him in a net which they made of fishing lines, he paying eight hundred xerafins to each ship-boy, to which Dom Duarte bound himself, giving pledges of gold. This nobleman was also sick, and in the camp we gave him up for dead; and he prepared a net with his negroes and two more whom he bought, and so attempted to accomplish the journey. Domingos Borges de Sousa did the same, and made a hammock of a carpet; and Francisco Cabrita made another of a piece of cloth, the oars of the boat, which the carpenter fashioned, serving for poles. The pilot went with two crutches and the others as their infirmities permitted, the healthy carrying their arms, and all with their wallets in which they carried their copper for barter and linen for cleanliness.

More time was necessary to rest from our past labours and gather strength for what was in store for us, but our lack of provisions and the unhealthiness of the site obliged us to set out on Monday the 15th of July, in the morning, after we had all recited the litany of our Lady. It is impossible to state in a few words with what sorrow and tears this pitiful tragedy was begun, for we left there, because of the wounds with which they came ashore, a Kaffir belonging to the boatswain Manuel de Sousa, a little cabra of mine, and a little negress belonging to the gunner Francisco Teixeira, who was drowned in coming ashore in the boat.

We commenced our journey, the captain going first, the master Jacinto Antonio leading the van, and the boatswain the rear. And we began to feel the grief and misery of the sick and those incapable of keeping up with the company, judging from the beginning what it would be in the future. Beneath our eyes, when we had gone less than a league along the shore, Bartholomeu Pereira Loreto, a sailor, remained behind from fatigue, and the Kaffirs who followed us immediately killed him, without our being able to assist him. Farther on the same Kaffirs took from Dona Barbara the wallet which she carried on her back with her share of copper and provisions and a diamond seal which had been saved, and if the rearguard had not hastened to assist her, they would have killed her as they did Loreto. As she could not keep up with us, Antonio Carvalho da Costa, a sailor, took her on his shoulders and carried her until nightfall. The Portuguese nun, Joanna do Espirito Santo, also gave great trouble, as well as the other sick. However we pitched our camp at last upon a ridge near the sea, where we found a spring of very good water; and the pilot, being unable to reach it, remained a gun-shot behind, and on his asking for confession the fathers attended to him with great charity and also to the notary, who waited behind and arrived very late at night. Here we passed the night.

On Tuesday the 16th of July the captain called a council to determine what was to be done with the women and the incapable, who prevented us from travelling with the necessary speed to reach the land where we could barter provisions, for the few grains of rice with which we started from the place where we were wrecked amounted to so little that there was not more than two measures for each person, and according to the assertion of those who had already journeyed by that road we would find nothing to barter within less than a full month. After the matter had been well debated, seeing the state we were in and that the pilot, the notary, Dona Barbara, and Joanna do Espirito Santo could not accompany us, and by waiting for them we all exposed ourselves to perishing of hunger, it was resolved to tell the women to walk in front, there being now no question of the pilot and notary, for one was already speechless and the other past all hope, and that we would go forward the next day, leaving behind those who could not keep up with the company.

When the Portuguese women were told this, they said they hoped God would go with us, but they dared not and could not. Therefore we left them after they had confessed themselves, together with a little negress who chose to stay with them; and they had no food whatever.

On this occasion Dom Sebastião was in danger of being left behind, for the ship-boys who carried him could not endure the labour, and therefore refused to do it; but Dom Duarte Lobo with fair words and greater reward induced a few to continue doing it. That day we journeyed along the sea-shore by ridges from which flowed many rivulets of fresh water, and we crossed several rivers which, as they were not dry, did us great damage. We found some shell-fish on the shore, but very little, and some large birds like peacocks were seen. Here, as the road was bad and the food little or nothing, the ship-boys resolved to leave Dom Sebastião Lobo, and thereupon it was arranged to select twelve of the most robust among them, and that the rest should carry their baggage. We travelled one day by rough and narrow paths near the sea, where only one person could pass at a time, the road being on a steep incline with ravines on the side of the shore. We came to a dangerous pass, from which we went on to a very rapid river, which we crossed with the water to our knees; and after we had crossed it we rested. When we set out again the ship-boys abandoned Dom Sebastião Lobo, who, not daring to proceed on foot, remained behind. The next day we reached another river, its mouth thickly wooded with shady trees; and here we found a young whale which had come ashore on the beach, from which each one cut his piece to eat. That afternoon we went through many bogs and difficult passes, after which we formed our camp near a river of good water.

Finding Dom Sebastião missing, for the captain and Dom Duarte having gone on before did not know that the ship boys had abandoned him, the sailors were persuaded to go and bring him, and it being now night they went back two leagues and found him where he had been left. They brought him to the camp, which he reached very late, saying in a loud voice that Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira cared not for death, but for the bad treatment shewn to his person. The next day it was treated of with the sailors that they should carry this nobleman, from which task the ship boys had desisted, the captain making many

remarks upon his high rank and upon his having embarked for the kingdom on a summons from his Majesty.

The next day we advanced slowly, and almost within a league we came to the river of São Christovão. In order to cross it we made two rafts, the river being very full and deep, with a strong and violent current. One we dedicated to our Lady of Help and the other to our Lady of Good Fortune. Here Dom Sebastião confessed himself and made his will, giving up hope of being able to accompany us, and displaying many jewels and precious things of which no one knew, he offered them to any who would bear him on their shoulders. Seeing this, and upon the persuasions of the master Jacinto Antonio, to whom he gave six links of a chain of gold for the purpose, sixteen of the strongest sailors were treated with, to whom Dom Sebastião delivered all the things he had displayed. We crossed the river, which could not be done that day, because it was very impetuous and the rafts could not cross it except at low tide, and the next day, the 19th of July, we finished crossing it, leaving there one of our Kaffirs who was carried away by the current and drowned, and a sailor, Antonio da Silva, who was sick and could not manage to walk. On the 20th of July the sixteen sailors agreed to carry Dom Sebastião Lobo.

After we had crossed the river we advanced along the shore by narrow paths, and when we reached a spring Filippe Romão, a passenger who had come from the kingdom in the same ship and who was married in Lisbon and had been master of the horse to Princess Margarita, remained behind, because he was sick and could not accompany us. There had already remained behind Lourenço Rodrigues, the squire of Dom Duarte Lobo, who was married in Alfama, and he could not walk so much, having travelled hitherto with two crutches. As his master passed him he bade him take courage, and he replied that he hoped God would help him and bring him before the eyes of the lady Dona Leonora, his wife, but he had neither strength nor courage to follow us. The father friar Antonio de São Guilherme also encouraged him, but he persisted in his resolution, and when the father had gone on a little way he called to him, and he thinking it was some matter of reconciliation returned to hear what he wanted, and he said to him: "Father Antonio, before you go do me the favour of a pinch of snuff, and may God

be with you; and it would be a great consolation to me if they would dig a grave in this sand that I might get into it."

Walking three leagues that day, we crossed a river with a strong current with the water to our waists. And the next day having gone a league we reached another river, which we crossed at low tide with the water to our breasts. After this we found better roads, but hardly any inhabitants, only a few Kaffir hunters appearing, who would not approach and speak to us. Upon this road we found good water and some small wild palm trees, the rind of which, removed with difficulty, was a relief, hunger being now general. This day we saw some straw huts with Kaffirs, who on noticing us took to flight. Going in, we found two fish and a few grains of millet. Farther on we encountered two Kaffirs to each of whom, to induce them to come and speak to us, we gave two locks of a writing-desk, which are the jewels most esteemed by these barbarians of Kaffraria; and when we asked where we would find anything to barter, they replied by signs that we would find it farther on.

On the 21st of July we moved forward quickly, pressed by hunger and with no order of march, being very weak. Two barbarians came out of a thicket, and finding Felicio Gomes, a sailor, separated from the others, took from him a wallet and a brass can which he had in his hands. We hastened to his assistance, but it was of no use, for when these Kaffirs attack it is impossible for anyone to overtake them. Reaching a height, we set fire to some huts, in which we found nothing but a few empty clay pots. After this we reached the camp, which was already pitched near a river. We were all very sad, because of the resolution which those who carried Dom Sebastião had come to of leaving him, because they found their strength fail them. And he, giving up hope and resolved to remain behind, first of all set about confessing himself, and gave a ruby ring to each of those who had hitherto carried him, disposing of everything else, and even depriving himself of a metal cross with relics which he wore round his neck and a small copper kettle. He remained without any food whatever, for there was none, and all parted from him with just sorrow, leaving him under a little cloth tent, fat and in good health, with his strength unimpaired, because he would not venture to proceed on foot. There remained with him a little Chinese and a Kaffir who had belonged to Domingos

Borges de Sousa. Dom Duarte Lobo, his brother, remained with him a long while, Dom Sebastião displaying in this extremity so much patience and good courage that if he persevered therein his salvation may be piously held as certain.

After leaving that place we came to another river, which we crossed at low tide with the water to our breasts. The country in front of us seemed fresher, with a few daisies, nettles, and sow-thistles, upon which many, pressed by hunger, fell eagerly, uncooked as they were. Crossing two dry rivers, we reached one which we forded with water to our waists, and then came to some mountains of earth, beyond which we entered a thicket in which there was a river, and here we remained all night. In the morning we set out again along the shore, passing three dry rivers and another to get over which it was necessary to make a raft, that we dedicated to our Lady of Succour, and on which we crossed with the baggage.

There came to us several Kaffirs with four fish, which we bought from them, and they gave us to understand that we would find provisions to barter close by. The next day, the feast of Saint James, going along the shore because of the many ridges which we could not get over, we entered a thick wood, where we discovered snares and pitfalls for elephants, and upon a height five round straw huts like ovens, in which we found nothing. We went forward, and after passing four dry rivers we halted near one which was so full of water and impetuous as to necessitate our making a raft, on which we crossed it the next day, the feast of St. Anne. There we found a few green figs, and they thought themselves fortunate who managed to secure some; and others found some beans with which they reached the shore, and those who ate them were like to die.

On Saturday, the 27th of July, after crossing the river we went through a wood from which, issuing upon the shore, some caught sight of a fire upon a height, and three men went forward to see what it was. They returned, claiming the reward for good tidings, for there were cows, upon which with great joy and devotion we recited a litany of our Lady. Presently a great number of Kaffirs came down, and among them one who spoke Portuguese. He was called João, and had remained there from the company of the ship *Belem*; he at once made himself known,

and the others spoke by smacking their lips. They wore skins, with which they covered their backs, and the rest of the body was naked, both of men and women, the only difference between them being that the women had their heads covered with caps of the same hide.

In this place, that day and the next we traded for ten cows, which we killed and ate. There was freedom to trade for all the cows we chose, but our barterers would not consent to it, saying that thenceforward we would find them every day. The captain asked the Kaffir João if he would go with us, making him great promises; but he excused himself on account of being married, and remained there. We went forward along the shore, and on Monday the Kaffir João and the others came out with darts to kill and rob us; however they did not dare to attack the camp, where we always kept good watch. We left a sailor upon this shore, who served as watchman, a married man who lived near Duarte Bello in Lisbon. He confessed himself, not venturing to go on, and the Kaffirs stripped him before our eyes until they left him naked, dragging him along the shore, and he on his knees with his hands raised in the midst of them, and we could not succour him. As we proceeded along the shore they threw many darts at us, but Urbano Fialho and Salvador Pereira fired their arquebuses at them till they drove them off and allowed us to go forward more freely over a rugged and difficult road. We came upon some caves, in which we found a very old Kaffir who lived there, from whom we learnt nothing new.

We missed our way, and came to a great river where we passed a very bad night, because of the extreme cold and our want of water. The next day in the morning we waited to cross the river at low tide, and forded it with the water to our waists, overcoming the current with great difficulty, and then followed another road over rocks so sharp that they hurt those who were shod very much and took the skin off the feet of others, who crept over the stones. Getting over this difficulty we met with another similar in the shape of rugged mountains which seemed to reach to heaven. Thence we passed on to a river of water, where we rested and saw some Kaffirs who came to speak to us and sold us five fish, giving us to understand that we would find provisions to barter farther on. Here we found some figs which in India are called *da gralha*, but very few. We climbed a mountain, and on

coming down from it we halted in order to pass the night near a river of fresh water.

The next day the captain sent men to explore the country, to see if there was any kraal or cattle, and after going a considerable distance up the mountain, those who went returned to the camp, weary and famished, with no information whatever. Thence we went on along the shore, over rocks where we sought shell-fish to eat, raw as they were, for so does hunger excuse cooking. Then we came to a very wide river with a strong current, the passage of which delayed us three days, waiting for low water, and when the water was still we crossed with it to our armpits. Then we rested upon a beach, where we had great difficulty in obtaining water to drink, and where we found a few oysters in the apertures which relieved our hunger, for we had eaten nothing for five days. We called this river São Domingos, because we reached it on the eve of his feast.

With difficulty enhanced by famine we got over this road until we came to a mountain of shifting earth so steep that, availing ourselves of the roots of the wild figs which nature causes to grow there, our hands helped us more than our feet. In order to pass a deep ravine which sloped steeply down to the sea, we all made the act of contrition, for if any one slipped and fell down from it he must have been dashed upon rocks and very sharp ridges. Worse trouble was caused by the master, Jacinto Antonio, to whom it fell that day to lead the van, for he went forward and crossed a river with water to the waist, while we were all dressing, with a gun and a cane in his hand. A cry arose that the master and a few who followed him were separating from us, a rumour which had been current in the camp for some time. Therefore the greater part of the company went after him, leaving Dom Duarte Lobo and his companions, for we knew nothing of this mistake. We returned to the road, going through a thicket and up a mountain with less difficulty, and coming out where the unfortunates who followed the master were huddled more dead than alive; and when we asked for him they said that he had chosen a more perilous ascent because he found no outlet to the shore.

When we had all assembled once more and rested, we went forward and pitched the camp near a river, our hunger being now so great that not even the green herbs escaped us, which

sometimes were not to be found, because the river often flowed over them, and we ate them raw. In the morning we began our march, arranging that the barterers should always go first alternately to see if there was any sign of provisions. Paulo de Barros caught sight of some Kaffirs, from whom he learnt nothing certain. We were now so faint that whenever we sat down to rest we crawled about on our hands and feet seeking herbs and wild beans, though knowing that by eating them we risked death, because they are poisonous.

We changed from the way along the shore, because it was very sterile, with no oyster, cockle, or crab upon it, and full of rocks. Going inland we halted near a river of good water, where we found some straw huts of Kaffirs, who on seeing us fled into the thicket and would not come and speak to us. Thence we came to a grotto covered with shady trees, with a pool of fresh water so clear that it invited us to rest. Here we sought for herbs, and he who found a crab considered himself fortunate. We went inland for two days, suffering the worst famine ever endured by mortal men. It happened one of these nights that a shipboy came up to a fire which was made near the tent of Dom Duarte, and taking off his shoe he roasted it and devoured it very greedily, in order not to share it with any other.

On the third day we marched seven leagues over mountains and rugged roads, until we had sight of a river, to which we descended with great difficulty from a steep mountain, in disorder from the fatigue of the march, and at great risk of the company being divided, because of the many paths which branched off, if we had not taken observations from a mountain, often going a good way back in order not to lose each other. We encamped late at night near a river where we found many wild bitter mad-apples, which we ate without knowing what they were, spitting out the pips, and others who ate none of these warmed water and pepper and drank it, and those who had saved any amber chewed it to allay the pangs of hunger. At this river all the Kaffirs who carried Dom Duarte fled that night, robbing the camp of the copper kettles and whatever else they could take away, but our chief regret was that this nobleman was exposed, for lack of them, to inability to keep up with us, for his health and strength were very limited.

The next day, the 9th of August, striking the camp and going

towards the sea near a river while seeking a ford, which we found dry, towards the afternoon it pleased God that we should find many wild fig-trees of India, the stalks of which, raw and cooked, served to alleviate our hunger. We reached this place so weak that some remained behind, not venturing to proceed, and then we made our camp on the other side of the river. The next day, the feast of Saint Lawrence, journeying over high mountains, for we could not get along the shore, João Delgado remained behind. He had done the same the day before, and the captain and I had brought him along in the rear very slowly. He made his will and confessed himself anew to Father Francisco Pereira, and asked me to leave him in sight of the sea, where he remained, the company having gone over some mountains and already at a distance, and having bidden him farewell, he began to shout and run after us, and when we would have waited for him he fell on his face and rose no more, and we left him to follow the company, for they were leaving us behind also and we judged that he could not follow us. This young man was married in Estremoz, and had some means, having served in India since the year 1635, when he went there with Pedro da Silva, whom he served.

This day going up and down mountains we advanced little, because of the rough road and also because of Dom Duarte Lobo, who was helpless, and we did not wish to leave him or others who were fainting. Out of consideration for them we walked less and slowly, and they threw themselves on the ground after getting over one hill to take breath before climbing another, causing pity enough in those who heard them. Towards the afternoon we descended a steep mountain and came to a small beach, where there was an islet which was surrounded with water at high tide, and many large boulders in a little bay with a river of water. We judged that there would be no lack of shell-fish to relieve the famine which had reduced us to such a state that we were but the shadows of men. But seeking all over the beach we found nothing, and we learned by experience that upon reets of this kind of rock there were no shell-fish.

On this occasion and in this place the Kaffirs of the under-pilot, Balthazar Rodrigues, going apart in search of shell-fish, found in a ravine a tiger's head, very rotten, covered with vermin, and of an evil smell. They immediately ate the tongue,

and brought the rest to their master very joyfully. He set it to cook with his comrades and Dom Duarte Lobo, first drinking the broth and keeping such good watch that while it was cooking he stood ready with a gun to defend his prize from the others in case they should attempt to steal it; and a religious who asked for a small piece could not obtain it. The next day as we travelled on some men found two dead rats of an evil smell in the thicket, and there were dissensions over the division of them.

Paulo de Barros, going on before, met a Kaffir on the shore from whom he learned that we were near the river where the ship *Belem* was lost, and that there was no lack of millet and cows to barter. He was given his jewel of copper, which he repaid with a little millet that he carried, and when it was divided among all the camp each person received twelve grains. Upon this intelligence we recovered our spirits, and prostrate upon the ground we rendered thanks to God and recited a litany of our Lady with great devotion. Climbing a very rugged mountain we returned to the shore, and marched on to a river which did not flow into the sea. We pitched our camp upon the bank in sight of two straw huts to which the Kaffir and his comrades withdrew, giving us to understand that his kraal was a long way off and that he would accompany us thither the next day. He gave the captain a handkerchief full of mussels, which he shared with Dom Duarte.

After pitching the camp each one went into the thicket to gather fig-shrubs, in order to eat the stalks, and a negress saying that certain red flowers which she carried in her hand might be eaten when cooked, kettles full were boiled and eaten. They were herbs of the aloe kind, which caused such agonies that if those who ate them had not been relieved with bezoar-stone and vomiting they would have died, for the herbs were poisonous.

On the twelfth of August we set out in company of the Kaffir, whose name was Benamusa, up a steep hill, in ascending which we rested frequently. Having overcome this difficulty, we rested upon the summit near some straw huts, and the captain gave the Kaffir a copper bracelet to guide us. He gave us to understand that he wished to go forward, and that we should send some men with him to return with provisions bartered at his kraal. We demurred at first, but the Kaffir had such a pleasing countenance

and looked so joyous, and the famine which oppressed us was so great and grim, that both these things together overcame the difficulties which suggested themselves, and Paulo de Barros with six sailors and Aleixo da Silva with two passengers were ordered to gather strength from weakness and go with the Kaffir. He was given a few copper trinkets, and he went away well pleased and was joined by three others who waited for him in the thicket.

We followed for nearly a league, and on reaching the summit of a mountain they called a halt and waited, and congratulated us that the river where the ship *Belem* was wrecked, the goal of our hope, was already in sight. There we rested within a league of it. The Kaffir and those who accompanied him went their way, ours for the river being different. Going down towards it, we reached the shore when it was already late, and there made our camp. We found some relics of the ship *Belem* and some figs.

Upon the way the father Friar Antonio de São Guilherme was several times at the point of death from poison, through certain beans which he roasted and ate, upon the inducement of Domingos Borges de Sousa, who assured him that he had eaten them thus and they did him no harm; but he was restored by means of ground bezoar-stone and other antidotes. In the tent of Dom Duarte Lobo they supped that night upon a piece of hide off a bale of cinnamon, roasted. In another tent they ate a hide sandal which had been worn for more than twenty days, and in the tent of Jacinto Antonio, the master, they ate a dog belonging to the Kaffirs, which they killed with a sword, sharing it with no one, not even with Dom Duarte, at which he was grieved.

Finding no water on this side, we dug a pit in the sand and found very good water, and we spent three days there, trusting in God and in those who had gone with Benamusa. During that time we made a raft on which to cross the river, and we bartered a little millet from some Kaffirs who came there, but so little that there was not more than a cup full for each person. On Wednesday, the eve of our Lady of the Assumption, those whom we expected from the Kaffir kraal arrived at the opposite side of the river, free from hunger and with their wallets filled. They were accompanied by Kaffirs with six live cows for barter.

Having made the raft, which we dedicated to São Domingos Soriano, we immediately crossed the river to ferry over Vicente da Silva, a servant of Dom Duarte, that he might give us an account of what they had found to barter, the situation of the kraals, and the customs of the people. This young man brought his master a little millet, two baked cakes of millet, and a little cooked beef, which that nobleman shared with the captain and others, and the remainder served to regale him and his comrades.

The next day, the feast of our Lady, we had great difficulty in getting the line and grapnel to the other side, by which to guide the raft, for the river was wide and the current rapid; and as all could not cross that day, the captain remained with the others until the next. A ship-boy tried to swim across, and was swept away by the ebb-tide, so that we thought he could not escape, and Father João da Encarnação absolved him from the shore. And as we called upon São Domingos Soriano a returning wave caught him and carried him ashore unhurt.

The Kaffirs who came with the six cows, seeing that we were still on the other side, returned to their kraals at night, promising to bring them back; and those who first crossed the river did not credit them, nor believe what those who came with the Kaffirs related of the abundance which they found nor of the good guidance given them by the Kaffir. They asked Dom Duarte, who was one of the first to cross, to send to the kraals to hasten the barter, and Urbano Fialho Ferreira, the boatswain Antonio Carvalho da Costa, and others were sent with arms and copper to barter.

The next day, the 16th of August, the remainder of the company crossed over and made a camp between two mountains in sight of the sea. Here the Kaffirs came with cows, which we bartered from them. They were divided among the companies, some killing, some roasting and boiling, and all falling to with such a will that nothing was thrown away but the horns and hoofs of the cows, for all the rest was eaten. Other Kaffirs came down in haste with quantities of cattle, millet, and native bread, and there were some disorders among us, the barterers securing the most and best for themselves, scattering themselves in the thicket and waiting for the Kaffirs, from whom they bartered millet and native bread to the great prejudice of all, giving as

much copper for a roll of native bread as was given in the camp for three or four.

The Kaffirs, getting this price outside, brought down nothing but cows ; and therefore a proclamation was issued forbidding any one to go and barter outside the camp under pain of death. But this did not suffice, for the hunger was not appeased even by the sight of so much meat. The master Jacinto Antonio was ordered to make rounds in the thicket and paths, to allow no barter, and to seize all those he might discover engaging in it. He found three Portuguese and three of our negroes, whom he seized and brought to the camp. A council was held, and the members thereof decreed that two of the three whites should be led through the camp by a rope, their offence being proclaimed, and their hands pierced ; proof was wanting against the other. Lots were drawn to see which of the negroes should die, and it fell upon a mulatto belonging to Urbano Fialho, who was executed at once, and the two others were severely whipped through the camp. The execution of this sentence both on the Portuguese and negroes was entrusted to the constable, and a negro was the executioner. The same penalty was incurred by a page of the captain, who was hoisted on the shoulders of a negro and severely whipped, with proclamation of his offence.

One of these nights, barter having been wanting for two days, a fold was made in which to secure and tame the cattle. Our men went constantly at all hours to a spring which was within two musket shots behind a mountain, and after we had retired the Kaffirs took a kettle from one of our negroes. He returned to the camp with loud cries, and we took to our arms, and firing a gun at the sound of the dispute, a Kaffir was hit in the leg. They brought him back, and kept him prisoner, setting a guard over him, intending to execute him the next day. When we had again retired another outcry arose, and when we rushed out to inquire into it we found that it was the comrades of the wounded Kaffir who had come with him to rob ; and as the night was dark they came upon the sentinel unperceived and carried off the Kaffir with them to the thicket on their shoulders. After this skirmish two little cabras of ours were found to be missing, and they had carried off a kettle belonging to their masters, a copper frying pan, and other articles of barter of less importance.

Understanding that there were more robbers, some of our men

went into the thicket, and after a few steps came upon a Kaffir whom they seized. He struggled to free himself, but Joseph Gonçalves Velloso, a sailor and inhabitant of Belem, who was carrying a gun, struck him with it and broke his arm. When a light was brought to see who he was, he was recognised as a Kaffir named João, one of those who fled from Dom Duarte Lobo da Silveira and robbed the camp. The captain questioned him, and he said that he and others, his comrades, were going about there intent on robbery, and therefore he ordered him to be hanged the next day, after he had confessed himself. After this barter was again forthcoming as before, with plenty of millet, baked cakes, several gourds of milk, and cows, these barbarians being now more familiar, perhaps because of their intercourse with our people of the ship *Belem*, when she was wrecked in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, during the time they were building the pinnaces in this place.

During the days we remained there, which were fourteen or fifteen, that the people might rest, as they were worn out by the many days of hunger and difficult travelling which they had endured, there were dissensions and talk of some separating and marching in a separate company, because of the bad government of the captain due to his weakness and good nature; but it was not done, for with time things fell out otherwise. Those who had gone to the kraals some days before to hasten the barter of cows, finding better pasture, remained there, and on returning to the camp found that we had shaved ourselves, and all were surprised, for we could hardly recognise each other after our former wretched appearance, and there was one in this place who owned that more hair had grown on his body through hunger than he had ever imagined could be possible.

The fugitive Kaffirs, finding themselves without him who was hanged, asked assurance of safety to return to the camp. This was granted them, because of the need Dom Duarte Lobo had of their services, for it was impossible for this nobleman to walk, owing to the fresh infirmities from which he suffered besides the many with which he came ashore, and in order to get some relief he endeavoured to train two oxen. Sixteen ship-boys agreed to carry him for three thousand five hundred xerafins, to be paid in Mozambique, and after this was agreed upon, one Monday night, the 25th of August, he was seized with an attack

of flatulence which caused him great pain. We assisted him with civet, a remedy which he used, it being an old complaint, and he grew better. But suddenly it attacked him in the throat, hardly giving him time to make a fervent act of the love of God, at the last words of which his speech failed him, and he held in his hands a picture of Christ on the cross. The father Friar Antonio de São Guilherme, seeing him in this state, called loudly on him to press his hand if he wished for confession, and he pressed it hard; then without further speech the father absolved him, and he immediately expired. His death was more lamented than any which had happened during this shipwreck, for this nobleman was so beloved by all that there was no one who was not grieved to the heart by his demise for reasons so obvious and unavoidable that I need not state them.

Dom Duarte Lobo was the second son of Dom Rodrigo Lobo, formerly general of the fleet of this kingdom; he went to India in the year 1629 with the count of Linhares, appointed to command the fortress of Baçaim for three years and the lands of Bardes for life, having previously embarked in the fleet of the coast which was wrecked in France, in the galleon *Santiago* which escaped, fighting alone valiantly with four Turkish ships. In the State of India he served as soldier, captain, chief captain of the fleets, and finally as governor of the straits of Ormuz and the Red sea, where he proclaimed his Majesty,—God keep him,—finding good opportunity to do him service, as also in the succour sent to the island of Ceylon, as soldier to his brother Dom Antonio Lobo, in all of which he acquitted himself with great success, winning the constant approval of the viceroys. He was on his way to the kingdom in this ship rather to visit his Majesty than to seek a reward for all his services.

On the 28th of August, the feast of Saint Augustine, we again set out, and proceeding on our way we reached a river near the shore, where we rested, to wait for João Lopes, the ship's cooper, to whom the captain sent a tame cow of Dom Duarte's, by his comrades, as he could not accompany us because of a stab he had received in the leg. We went farther inland and pitched our camp, intending to pass the night in a level place near a river of brackish water. Here one of the Kaffirs of Dom Duarte who returned to the camp upon a promise of safety was hanged upon slight proof, because it was reported that he had bartered food,

and one of his comrades, who belonged to the under-pilot and who had carried the said nobleman, fled in fear, for he was also one of those who received the said promise. We remained a day in this place because of a revolt in the camp, some wishing to separate and saying that we ought not to travel all together, for there would not be enough barter for all. Thereupon the captain called a council, and all being dissatisfied because of his good nature, a separation was voted, but it came to nothing, because they could not agree upon the choice of a new captain and the division of the copper.

We set out the next day, the 30th of August, with a few cows before us, and reached a shady wood in sight of three kraals, from which many Kaffir men and women came out, with many cows and much millet, milk, and native bread for barter. We remained there that day and the next, enjoying this plenty. The sailors and ship-boys again began to clamour that they wished to travel separately with the master, and that the men, cattle, copper, and arms should be divided. To this the captain, lacking friends and advice, consented, first entering in the king's book the reasons and manner of this division, and how it was for the general good, because in some places there was a lack of barter and it was not sufficient for all, so that travelling in separate companies would be better. A division was made of the men, arms, cattle, lines, grapnels, kettles, and everything else. The captain allowed the master to go first, and he marched on with all the best seamen and a company of the former comrades of Dom Duarte Lobo, for after his death we remained together, and had the best arms in the camp. Our chief was the father Friar Antonio de São Guilherme, because of his great ability and the courage with which he always fought in India, displaying it on many occasions in battle before he entered Religion. In this company were the fathers Friar Diogo da Apresentação, Friar Bento Arrabido, and Friar João da Encarnação, and the barterers were Aleixo da Silva and Antonio Carvalho da Costa.

There remained with the captain his comrades and the fathers Friar Afonso de Beja, Francisco Pereira, the chaplain of the ship, Friar Ambrosio de Magalhães de Menezes, and Domingos Borges de Sousa, Veiga, and Faro, the other officers of the ship, and Paulo de Barros as barterer.

In this place a Kaffir belonging to Roque Martins de Miranda,

a friend and comrade of the captain, fled with all that he had brought from China, where he was married, and which had been saved from the ship. We took leave of each other with great grief, asking each other's pardon. Two or three hours after the master had started, the captain set out with his company, driving the cattle in front. He went through the kraals, from which the Kaffirs came out with much to barter, and as we were few there was enough for all. The Kaffirs were more peaceable, so much so that when in passing their kraals our cattle got mixed with theirs they separated them very quietly. Thus towards four in the afternoon the captain came in sight of the master's company, who were bartering, after having made many rounds and travelled by many paths to get ahead, each of the barterers endeavouring to be first.

Although we had met again, the captain went forward with his company and cattle, and we followed him until we came to a river where we halted, he on one side and the master on the other. The water was very good, and it reached to the middle of our legs, and there were many shady trees. Shelters were made, and the cattle placed in the middle with good sentinels. During the night a gun was fired in the captain's camp, because our servants cried out that the Kaffirs were in ambush to steal the kettles in which we carried water from the springs; but they did not succeed, for in order to avoid all risk our people used for this purpose the gourds in which they had bought milk, and which were divided among the companies. The master remained here two days without marching, because they brought him all kinds of barter, and a few hens and quantities of locusts, which the Kaffirs offered, thinking they would get copper in return.

On the 5th of September in the morning, after reciting a litany of our Lady, we set out over a very rugged mountain, and descended on the other side. We went no farther that day, because of the plentiful barter which was brought to us beside a very clear river of good water, where we bought cows, milk, and native bread in the midst of many kraals. The next day we set out over a high mountain with two barbarians who served us as guides, after hanging a Kaffir, one of those who fled and robbed the camp.

As these barbarians prize copper above everything, those who

had bartered with us the day before plotted together to rob us, the two who had offered to guide us serving as spies. They did so, fleeing through a thicket with a cow, with which they would have got off if it had not been for the diligence of those in the van. Joseph Gonçalves Velloso seized one, and would have bound him, when the other snatched his wallet, and they fell to struggling; Vicente da Silva hastened to assist, dropping his gun, which was seized by a Kaffir in the woods who had a fancy for it, and he made off so fleetly that they could not overtake him. Coming into the open, we found ourselves on a plain surrounded by Kaffirs as thick as starlings on the wing, uttering warcries and brandishing assagais, an infinite number to each of the Portuguese. But we, firing at them, though with little effect because of the distance, made them retreat, and they left us to pursue our way, still remaining in sight until we entered a wood thinking to get out of the way of these wretches.

We ordered our march very carefully, with armed men in the van and rear, the cattle in the middle, and a watch at each side, for the road was bad and very long and the Kaffirs lost no opportunity of molesting us, attacking us in the middle of the wood with loud shouts. But God helping us we immediately killed three, and without any damage on our side got out of the thicket near a spring of clear water. Here they brought us some provisions to barter, at which let no one who reads be amazed, for these people at the sight of copper will not heed though their fathers, mothers, and relations be slain.

On the 7th of September we set out from that place through vast plains with heavy mist, which could not disperse the clouds of locusts. On the 8th, the feast of our Lady's Nativity, many Kaffirs came with cows and millet to barter, and we marched on through a bright and pleasant country in 30° of latitude, and saw many large birds like royal herons, but so tall that they looked like sheep in the distance. One day in these parts we saw a large troop of lions, which went roaring through a valley without taking notice of us as we passed upon a height. Thence we saw the sea, and journeyed along it with forty-two cows in our company, and we did not try to go inland again for fear of the Kaffirs.

On the feast of São Nicolau de Tolentino as we journeyed along the shore we found a ship's lantern and a quantity of

timber, which we judged to be the wreckage of some ship which had been driven upon the coast. Before noon we came to a deep river, which we did not cross that day, because the tide was full and the current very rapid. Here some Kaffir fishermen came from the other side, but brought nothing to barter, and we afterwards discovered that they came to spy us. We forded the river with the water to our middle, and gave it the name of Rio da Crnz, because of a wooden cross which we set up there and another which we cut in a stone, that if the captain's company should come after us they might know we had passed that way.

We went up a hill of stones, where we found more than two hundred Kaffirs awaiting us with their assagais and warcries, covered with shields of hide which they use. We attacked them, punishing their boldness by the death of their leader, at whom Antonio Carvalho da Costa fired, and hit him in the legs with two bullets, so that he fell wounded, and we finished him with our swords, upon which the others fled from the field, for they are not a race to wait for more. It is to be noted that when these barbarians come in a large body with nothing to sell their design is to rob, and it is not wise to spare them; the best and safest road being always along the shore. There they again attacked us, but Aleixo da Silva killing another with his gun they left off following us. A young man from India, a very skilful surgeon, remained upon this shore, because he could go no farther. That day at dusk we reached a pond behind a river which hid the sea from us, and there we made our camp. The next day, the 12th of September, we did not set out, for there arose a great storm of thunder and lightning. Raising our eyes towards the mountains, we saw a large company approaching, driving cows before them, and hastening to find some place in which to take shelter from the rain. We saw that it was the captain's company, and on observing us they fired two guns, to which we replied with others; and they came and made their camp on the other side of the pond in the shelter of a thicket. Thence there came to us Paulo de Barros and others, from whom we heard of their unfortunate journey and the defeat they had sustained from the Kaffirs.

The master, Jacinto Antonio, sent Friar João da Encarnação to visit the captain, who replied in writing requesting and calling upon him to rejoin him again, that together they might

better defend themselves from the Kaffirs, who might assemble to the damage of all, and otherwise he would be held accountable for whatever might occur. Upon this the master convened a council, in which there were various opinions, the sailors voting that we should not reunite, that we might not be governed by the passengers, to whom alone the captain deferred; but finally the master, intimidated by Friar João, who again visited the captain, and also moved by fear of the Kaffirs, resolved to unite, both being equal in authority and command, for so it then appeared best for the preservation of all.

We will leave the united camps to rest while we give an account of what befell Antonio da Camara de Noronha during the nine days that he journeyed separately. At dawn on the day on which the captain separated from us, on the other side of the river he began to make his way up a mountain, on descending which he found plentiful provision. Going through a thick wood, he came out upon a level country, where there was abundance of cows, millet, native bread, and milk to be had in barter; and they came upon negroes of good disposition, who accompanied them and assisted to herd the cows, but always with their eyes open to see what they could steal.

He travelled two days in the midst of this plenty, and on the third, when going through a small thicket, one of the Kaffirs snatched the knapsack from the back of the under pilot's brother, and fled so swiftly that it was impossible for any one to prevent him. Another Kaffir likewise attacked a mulatto belonging to the boatswain, and endeavoured to steal his wallets; but while they were struggling, assistance came to him, and the Kaffir fled. Thence they reached a river with banks thickly wooded, where they rested during the heat of the day in sight of kraals, from which many gourds of milk were brought to them. As they were about to ascend a mountain a good-looking Kaffir came to them wearing many copper bracelets, accompanied by about three hundred others, but unarmed and ready to trade. Copper was shown to him, and he answered in Portuguese that he did not want it for his cows, but silver like the moon and gold like the sun, from which it was inferred that the said Kaffir had been left there when a child from some shipwreck.

Paulo de Barros, who had already passed that way and

understood the customs of these Kaffirs, perceived that this man had an eye to the cattle which the captain by this time had tamed and which carried the baggage; and fearing some attack, he began to go forward with the cows in front of him, herded by a ship's boy and a few native Kaffirs. When the others of the company saw him go forward they hastened after him, and on reaching the top of the mountain, the Kaffirs, observing that those who followed could not get up so quickly, the way being long and rough, fell upon Paulo de Barros and the ship's boy with sticks, and neither the gun nor the sword which the former carried saved him from being severely beaten with the wooden cudgels that they used, and they wounded him and took from him the wallets and three live cows. The ship's boy defended himself better with a broadsword, and lost nothing but his hat. The others of the company came up to Paulo de Barros, and after collecting the cows, dressed his wound. This happened in sight of a kraal which the negroes of our camp entered and plundered of what food they found, but the captain would not allow them to set fire to it. Salvador Pereira with his arquebus on reaching some trees passed through more than a hundred Kaffirs, and brought one to the ground, whereupon the others retreated, leaving the wallets open which they had taken from Barros, having first removed what they thought fit with great rejoicing.

After this, wherever the camp was formed, these Kaffirs never ceased following, without daring to attack. But coming in sight of two mountains, and being obliged to go along the skirt of one on the right hand, more than three hundred Kaffirs, all armed, barred the way in the most rugged part of the passage; and on reaching the middle the rearguard made ready, waiting for those who remained behind, and Domingos Borges went forward with some others who followed him up the mountain, and gained the heights, which the Kaffirs abandoned to him, leaving him in possession of the post, whereupon the others marched along the skirt of the mountain uninjured, the barbarians still following until they came to level ground with trees, where Domingos Borges lay unseen in ambush, and killed one of them. At this they became so infuriated that getting out of gun-shot they did not cease molesting the company with stones, so much so that in descending any mountain it was

necessary for three men to stand with their firearms levelled while the rest of the company passed by. The same was done wherever there was a dangerous spot, until they reached other kraals uninjured, driving the cows in front with people to guard them.

On reaching a narrow pass with high mountains on one side and such a thick wood on the other that they could not break through it, the Kaffirs pelted them with stones, from which they could not defend themselves, and wounded the captain and Salvador Pereira in the rearguard, so that they could not recover themselves nor fire any more after the first shot, which was ineffectual. Here many boasters were seen who ran quickly to escape from the noise, which was very loud.

After this they all assembled on a plot of cultivated land near a river, and the Kaffirs, knowing that the camp was pitched there, set fire to some dry grass. The captain therefore crossed to the other side of the river, going over mountains and halting on the summit to spend the night in vigilance, without making shelters or cooking food, with the Kaffirs in sight, making a chattering noise and intimating that they would attack the camp in the night. Before morning the captain pursued his way up the mountain with the cows, where he found that the barbarians had already occupied the summit and had collected stones. There being no help for it, Domingos Borges de Sousa, Salvador Pereira, and others prepared to face the danger, with their guns levelled and their eyes fixed on the stones which the Kaffirs began to hurl, with injury to our men; and while they went to look for others our people had an opportunity to gain the summit, and the barbarians withdrew, letting all pass uninjured.

After resting from this labour they advanced a little, and halted at night near a river, which they reached very battered from the journey and the Kaffirs, as they had travelled far that day to see if they could get ahead of these wicked wretches, and the captain had suffered greatly from the stones. The next day, going up and down mountains and rugged paths, they encountered five Kaffirs who had been following them, and they called to them, but they would not approach then, though at noon two of them did so, and a little copper was given to them to guide the company on their way. They led them into

a thick wood, where after advancing a few steps it was observed that they were conducting the party backwards ; and the Kaffirs, seeing that their design was discovered, took to flight, some already expressing an opinion that they should be put to death.

Going forward, the captain arrived at a river with many shady trees, where they rested a little, and then he gave the order to advance, which was ill-received, because the site was good and the people weary. As they began to climb a mountain, the five negroes aforesaid, who had got ahead of them, crossed the river first and occupied the summit of the mountain unseen. As soon as they were below, the Kaffirs began to throw stones and bar the way, and without doubt if they had been more numerous that day our people would have escaped with difficulty. Nevertheless they pressed forward, and never rested until they reached the highest summit of the mountain, where they arrived breathless and stopped to recover a little. After this they travelled along level ground and continuous paths, discovering a great number of Kaffirs, who blackened the plains, and thus they continued until they came to a rising ground, on which was Benamusa, whom they reached without molestation, and only came upon him on the summit surrounded by kraals and Kaffirs with cows, at which they were well pleased, as it seemed that there would be no lack of barter.

They spoke to Benamusa, who seemed a person of authority and was covered with a cape of hide cut in strips, and his followers the same, for such is the finest dress of these barbarians. The captain asked him to point out the way to a river which was in sight, where they would carry on barter, for which he gave him some pieces of copper, with which he was satisfied, and he sent two of his Kaffirs as guides. Thereupon they went forward, marching with arms in hand, the cows in front, and a strict watch in the rear, warned by what had occurred before. They entered a continuous path bounded on one side by a thick wood and on the other by great piles of stones like ancient edifices and in part by natural caves, which served as a refuge against what happened later on. The five Kaffirs aforesaid, having joined these, informed them of the death of the three ; and together they got above these caves with many stones, which they hurled when the cattle came up in front. To throw, it was necessary for them to expose their bodies, the stones

striking first upon the boulders and then rebounding into the road, which caused the people to turn aside, those who went first being in constant fear of them, and crying "treason." Seeing this, the Kaffirs who guided them would have fled, but Domingos Borges de Sousa, who carried his gun ready levelled, brought down the first, and the other escaped from six guns, as no one could hit him, so fleet are these barbarians. In the meanwhile the others did not cease from hurling stones, from which the company escaped, availing themselves of the caves in which they took refuge, running fifteen or twenty paces from one cave to another, until they were completely out of this danger and reached the river.

They crossed it with the water to their knees, and made their camp, rendering thanks to God for having delivered them from such evident peril. The Kaffirs came in search of the dead man, with great lamentations, from which they did not cease all night, during which the captain kept good watch until morning. Then they again set out, and several Kaffirs came with provisions to barter, whereupon they halted, and it seemed advisable to remain there two days; but as the captain was ill and wounded, fearing some treachery of the Kaffirs, they set out again through a wood with many thorns and a great plague of locusts hanging to the trees. Then a heavy mist with fine rain came on, and they could not see the way, and went in quest of the sea, fleeing from the Kaffirs who had so molested them. They rested for a day and a half near a river with boulders and trees furnishing abundant fuel, killing cows, recovering themselves after their past labour, and treating the wounded with cocoa-nut oil, for they had no other medicine.

From this place they directed their course towards the sea, which they eagerly longed for, walking six or seven leagues every day through burnt clearings and along rough paths, so that when night came they were helpless with fatigue. One night they stationed themselves on the peak of a rugged and dangerous mountain, which looked as fearful to descend as it had been to ascend on the other side, and it was divided by a rapid river with many rocks in the middle. Driving the cows in front, they began to descend, loosening rocks that bounded down, so that if any had been in front they must have been dashed to pieces,—a dangerous pass if any Kaffirs had been

there. Thus some of the cows got caught between trees and could not move, and the people crawled on the ground until they reached the bottom, where they found a cow on which the captain rode lying dead. It had rolled down with many rocks after it, and it served the camp for food that night, which they passed in a place covered with high jungle-grass that afforded shelter to elephants, more restfully than other nights, without fear of the barbarians and with a good bed of high straw.

They set out the next day along the mountain with difficulty, and crossing a river with a very dangerous ford, they thought of nothing but pressing forward to get away from a bad country and worse natives. About three in the afternoon, as they had been struggling up a mountain endeavouring to reach the summit, holding on to the cows' tails as they said, which may be an exaggeration, after resting from this labour they were again going forward when they observed fifty Kaffirs armed with shields and assagais, but when they came within hearing they had not courage to attack the company.

After they had gone, our men were very grieved to find a sailor missing, for they knew that he had remained two leagues behind asleep in the place where they had rested, and his comrades had forgotten him. After crossing some pools of water with great difficulty, they chose a better spot in which to pass the night, each one exerting himself to find water and wood to cook what food there was. The sailor who had been left behind asleep, finding himself alone, followed the company, walking on after dark until eleven o'clock at night, when he found himself in sight of many fires, some towards the shore and some towards the interior, and he went towards them till he saw the shelters, where he arrived with great gladness, and all the camp rejoiced over him as over one whom they had given up for lost.

In the morning they arose early, thinking that the fires which the sailor had seen upon the shore might belong to some band of Kaffirs who lay in wait for them. With a little rain they went forward along the shore, where they discovered the company of the master Jacinto Antonio, which they saluted as has been related, camping opposite very weary and exhausted with their labours and fear of the Kaffirs; upon which, as we have seen, the two companies united, each making its camp

separately, for the master had most cows. This day the Kaffirs appeared with plenty to barter, which was divided among all.

After the two companies had united we marched towards a river which we crossed with the water to our knees, and which, being three fathoms deep farther up, if it had not been shoal at the mouth, was larger than that where the ship *Belem* was lost. Here they brought us a little millet and chickens for barter, which were divided among the sick and wounded, and the captain dressed the wounds inflicted on him by the Kaffirs. Some of those who came to us to barter were the first we saw with the hair on their heads dressed like the turbans of the Banyans of India, and they had red beads round their necks. About three in the afternoon we halted, in order to let the cattle graze and to kill some cows for food.

On the feast of Saint Matthew, after we had marched two leagues along the shore, we saw cows and halted to let our cattle graze and that the people might rest. Five or six of the company were ordered to go to the kraals with their arms to see if there was any barter to be done. They returned with good news, and with a she-goat and kid, which was all they could manage to bring with them. The Kaffirs followed them, and we bartered from them all they brought. The next day there was no lack of hens for barter, which came very opportunely for the sick, and whenever cows were forthcoming we did not fail to purchase as many as they would part with, because of the need we might have for them, as we killed three every two days to supply the camp.

Having left this spot, on the 23rd of September we reached another river, at which we were forced to halt to barter food, which was brought to us in plenty, and it was equally divided; and we sought a ford in the river, which is in latitude $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Though those who had been wrecked in the small ship suggested crossing it on a raft, God was pleased to show us the ford, because of the labour the raft cost to all; and crossing with water to our necks, the camp was formed on the other side, many Kaffirs coming to us with great rejoicing. Orders were given to the barterers to trade, which they did, always taking advantage of their office to the general damage and injury.

Seeing the familiarity of these negroes and the abundance

of food to barter which they brought, and thinking that it would always be thus, most of the sailors attempted to remain behind with the master and separate themselves from the rest of the company, having the greater part of the copper in their possession, and being moved to this discord by that which reigned among them and their disgust at the government of the captain. He, without considering or consulting those who were on his side, did not resist, but ordered the cows to be divided, and riding on the one which he kept for the purpose, ill and wounded as he was, began to go forward alone. Upon this the father Friar Antonio de São Guilherme and his comrades went out and stopped him, and the father asked him what he was doing and why he was setting off alone, and he desired him to dismount and send for Paulo de Barros, who was the head of the master's party and had received many favours from the captain, that the disunion might not take place. He replied that he refused to come, which was condemned by all, so much so that Antonio Carvalho da Costa, though he was related to the master, went to the captain and advised him not to consent to the division which was being attempted, for it was not conducive to the preservation of all, alleging many reasons therefor, the chief of which was that the greater part of the copper was with the master's company and it would be impossible for his company to barter, and that the copper and cows should be equally divided, offering himself to be his barterer. Seeing this and the injustice of this rebellion, undertaken without fear or dread of God, Father Antonio cried out that but for his profession and habit he would not suffer it, but would attack them all with his arms and punish their great insolence. Whereupon his comrades and the others were moved to recover the copper by force, and we set out with our guns levelled towards the master's shelter. His faction, which was the most numerous, hastened to his defence, and by this determination on both sides many must have perished that day and the remainder have remained exposed to the cruelty of the Kaffirs. But the master hastened into the thicket behind his shelter, and his comrade the father Friar João da Encarnação flinging himself in the path upon his knees with a picture of our Lady of the Rosary in his hands, entreated them by that Lady and by the wounds of Christ to be at peace. The captain with his usual gentleness

would not consent to the use of the merited severity, and thus everything passed off without offence, the master and Paulo de Barros using arguments which were not admitted, and giving opportunity for friendship and union only, until at last all agreed to what was demanded on the part of the captain, for it was better for the safety of all that we should not divide. Upon this the camp was formed again, and that day was spent in holding a council in which laws were propounded together with other matters conducive to good government, of which those were adopted which were approved by the vote of the father Friar Antonio de São Guilherme, without whom nothing good could be done. Everything was entered in the king's books, which we all signed, companies and captains being appointed as before, and at nightfall we were in peace and contentment, thanking God who had delivered us from this evident peril.

Next day, the feast of Saint Jerome, we walked two leagues, and seeing the Kaffirs we rested, the whole company refreshing themselves with a great quantity of millet, native bread, and sesame, the first we had seen; and everything was brought to us in such abundance as we had not experienced before. Going inland, we halted within half a league of the shore for two days, during which they brought us even fish, which was divided most equally, without complaints, the effect of the new laws which had been made. In compliance with these a ship's boy, in this place, was led through the camp with a halter round his neck, and his offence was proclaimed, because he had incurred this penalty by bartering without orders. João Barbosa, who served as notary to the camp, being accused of the same crime, as there was not sufficient proof against him, was deposed from his office. After this some men were sent to the kraals to obtain cows, and brought back only three; and thereupon we resolved to return to the shore. Three Kaffirs fled from us here, two belonging to Dom Duarte Lobo, who carried off a copper kettle with them, and the other belonging to the father Friar Antonio de São Guilherme. At nightfall we went into a thicket to search for fresh water, and coming to a spot which had been a kraal, we found some, and made our shelters among a quantity of purslane, tender sugar canes, and cultivated fig-trees, at which we rejoiced greatly.

Sending men to explore the country, we learned that there were kraals close by, to which the captain sent four men to barter cows. The father Friar Antonio disapproved of this, experience having shown that those who went to the kraals thought only of themselves and not of the camp, and therefore he persuaded the captain that we should follow them, which we did, carrying the shelters with us, and guided by two Kaffirs. A little negro of Malabar belonging to Father Francisco Pereira was left behind here, and we returned to look for him, but could not find him. We came to a place where we saw those whom the captain had sent on before, surrounded by more than three hundred Kaffirs with their women and children, from whom they had already bartered two bundles of sugar canes and some native bread. Others had gone for cattle, and they showed signs of being a well disposed people, for as our company passed through their midst they received us with rejoicing and with songs and dances after their fashion. We made our camp in sight of them and of many kraals on a plain near a river, where they brought us such quantities of provisions to barter that there were more than a thousand loaves of crushed millet, the best bread in all Kaffraria, hens, millet, cows, goats, and sugar canes, all in great quantities. But as we had been so long ill disciplined, at the sight of this plenty matters grew still worse, many going into the wood to barter, to the prejudice of the others, contrary to the law laid down, which forbade this under penalty of death. And when the captain set about chastising the guilty, he found so few exempt from this fault that he desisted from inflicting the punishment which they deserved.

We spent nine days resting in this place and availing ourselves of the opportunity for bartering food, which was brought to us every day. Here a freed negress with her son, who had belonged to the nun Joanna do Espirito Santo, fled from us, taking with her another negress of the Malay race, the slave of Domingos Borges de Sousa. After these days we struck our camp, and marched through kraals for more than a league, where we left a ship's boy, a native of Almada, named Francisco Gonçalves, for he could no longer ride or walk, which he had hitherto done with great constancy, being ill and helpless, so that he looked like death. We recommended him to the negroes, and gave them a little copper

to take care of him, and we took our leave of him very sorrowfully.

We set out on the 13th of October with an abundance of bartered provisions, and that same day a Kaffir came to us in company with others bringing hens and speaking to us in Portuguese. When we asked him how he came there, he replied that after the wreck of the ship *São João*, the Portuguese being at war with the Kaffirs, he was left there when a child. He showed signs of being a Christian, kissing a crucifix which was exhibited to him with devotion and reverence, and showing submission to the priests whom he saw. He said that he was married and had five children, and bade us remain there that day and he would return on the next, although his king lived at a great distance.

The next day, when we were about to set out, many Kaffirs came to us with things to barter, and therefore we set up our screens again in the same place, finding more loyalty in these barbarians than in those we had left behind; and they were the best people we met, good-looking, affable, and trustworthy in barter. Here the aforesaid Kaffir returned, who said he was called Alexander, bringing a son who was named Francisco, and some articles to barter. As he showed himself well disposed towards the Christian faith, Father Francisco Pereira, who had belonged to the Society of Jesus, was moved to desire to remain with him, wishing to look to the salvation of his soul and that of his children and such others as should be chosen by God. He spoke of this intention to the captain and other friends, who endeavoured to dissuade him with arguments which he would not admit, replying that it was nothing that he should give his life for the salvation of these souls, God having bestowed it upon him so many times when it was in danger in the midst of the misery on land and perils at sea through which he had passed in our company. With a smile on his lips and tears in the eyes of those who looked on, he gave away certain things, reserving for himself only an image of Christ our Lord and a metal picture of the Nativity which he wore. Then he took leave of the company with great resolution, writing to the archbishop primate of India and to the viceroy to inform them of his intention.

Taking with him the Kaffir Alexander and his son very

joyful, to whom a copper chain and other such trinkets were given, that they might be well disposed to the father, he set out for their kraal, leaving us in admiration. But as this design of the father was directed to the service of God our Lord, it was frustrated by the devil, for he found himself in the middle of the thicket abandoned by the Kaffir who guided him, and at a great distance from the place where we left him and where we were. He was obliged to return to the camp, grieved and disconsolate, with the image and picture which he took with him, and it was esteemed a miraculous favour from heaven that the Kaffir should have left them to him, and had not killed him to rob him, considering the esteem in which copper is held by these natives.

On the 15th of October we marched along the shore for a short time, over loose sand which caused us great inconvenience. Here the Kaffirs came with abundance of food of all kinds, which was bought from them and piled in a heap on the shore to be divided. The captain, who had an assagai in his hand, took with it a yellow and inviting-looking loaf of native bread, which was his due as captain; and though there was no lack of food in the camp and those who had the least bartered whatever they chose without hindrance, yet seeing this, without any respect for him or for the eight religious who were present, the bystanders fell upon the loaves of bread and threw them all down, without leaving any, with the greatest insolence yet displayed. This drove the captain beyond the limits of his usual forbearance and good-nature, so that he struck several with his assagai, and though he might have punished others he did not do so, in order to avoid fresh riots and not to expose the camp to new misfortune every hour.

Having broken up our camp, we left that place, and went forward for two leagues, when we were overtaken by a storm of thunder and lightning, which forced us to halt in a thicket near a river of fresh water. Many Kaffirs came out to meet us on our way, singing and dancing with great rejoicing, after their fashion. They followed us until it was night, when they approached with several she-goats, kids, and bunches of bananas to barter, which served for our refreshment. The next day, after waiting for the tide to go down, we forded the river with the water to our breasts, and we gave it the name of

Fig (*i.e.* Banana) River, for these were the first we had found in this Kaffraria.

After crossing the river we proceeded on our way until we reached another, the mouth of which was shallow and blocked with a bar of sand, which enabled us to pass over with the water to our knees. After this we went on until the 17th of October, with nothing to relate. We reached another river, that we crossed at low tide with the water to our waists, through three channels which it formed. After this we spent three days bartering cows, hens in such abundance that each person received five, and a few she-goats, the hides of which served to barter for milk. They brought little millet, because it was the season for planting. There was such disorder in the bartering, with no respect for the captain and the religious, that it was carried on openly, as if there had been no justice.

We set out again on the 22nd of the said month, with the camp well provided, a Kaffir going with us, to whom those from the wreck of the small ship gave the name of Thomas. He accompanied us for four days, and was of great service to us; and he did all that he was commanded, refusing nothing, therefore several copper trinkets were given to him. From the shore we ascended a high sand-hill covered with a thicket on the top, and as we were about to descend again we caught sight, between latitude 27° and 28° , of the fairest plain our eyes had ever beheld, studded with many kraals, traversed by rivers of fresh water, and covered with many cattle. There came to us so many Kaffirs, men and women, that the plain was black with them, and they brought so much barter that we rested a little in their sight. When we set out again with all these barbarians in our company, they served us by carrying us over a river on their shoulders, conveying us over three arms of it with the water to their necks, for which we gave them some little pieces of copper. Here we spent the night, each one bartering at will, and no one could put an end to this grave disorder.

The next day, before the Kaffirs came with food to barter, which was so plentiful that eight hens fell to the share of each person, the captain assembled the religious, officers, and ship's passengers, apart from the camp, near a river, and informed them of his inability to continue governing the people, and that he resigned his charge and gave up all authority, and that there-

fore they should elect some other person who might lead us to Cape Correntes in peace and quietness, whom he would be ready to obey. They replied that seeing he confessed that his strength was not sufficient, although there was no one capable of receiving his resignation, it would be accepted by all united, and thereupon they proceeded to the election. The father Friar Antonio de São Guilherme and Urbano Fialho Ferreira were chosen to take the votes. They went to the shelter of Antonio Carvalho, where all assembled, and some disturbance in the voting arose among certain sailors, which was pacified upon Paulo de Barros being taken as a third. Then they began to vote anew, and when they had done so the father Friar Antonio questioned everyone without exception, whether all the votes being now taken they were willing to accept as captain him upon whom the majority might fall. All replied in the affirmative, and the father, declaring the result, announced that Antonio Carvalho was captain, he having eight more votes than Jacinto Antonio, to whom the remainder were given.

Antonio Carvalho was one of the ship's sailors, married in Belem, a young man respected by all, having the sailors on his side, and who was chosen as barterer, as has been stated before, because he had been wrecked in the small vessel and had travelled through this land of Kaffraria. Notwithstanding all this, some murmured at his election, which he accepted and immediately issued a proclamation that no one should barter anything whatever under pain of punishment. One of the ship's sailors being convicted, he ordered him to be led through the camp with a halter and his offence proclaimed, with two hens tied round his neck, which were the bartered articles discovered in his possession. He felt this so deeply that the grief of it, together with hardships of the journey, caused his death within a fortnight.

On the 24th of October we marched along the plain, coming across a few difficult marshy places, having passed which, innumerable Kaffirs came out in order, with pots of milk and hens which we bartered from them, and for this reason we advanced less than usual this day, and made our camp in a low thicket, keeping strict watch upon our cattle. In the morning we set out and crossed a fresh river twice, with the water to our waists. We observed the sea at the mouth of the river, which

seemed to be deep, for there was a great swell within, and many pools were left at high tide, in which the Kaffirs had weirs for catching fish. To the east-south-east there was a large high sandy point, covered with a thicket, which formed a convenient bay for small vessels to lie in.

We advanced this day with heavy dew and intense cold, and with great difficulty, because of the many marshes which we crossed. The Kaffirs followed us with food to barter, and therefore we halted a while. We then began to go forward again, and towards the afternoon we caught sight of a large river, in which the tide was rising and rapidly barring our way. We crossed it in great anxiety, falling into many pits dug for elephants and sea-horses, which we found covered up and flooded with water that reached to our necks. With this difficulty and a heavy storm of rain which we encountered, we made our camp near the shore, whither the Kaffirs came to us, supplying us with wood and water for pieces of copper, a great relief to us, as we were very weary. They led us thence in the morning, crossing a ford with the water to our waists.

Finding the tide low, we marched along the shore for two leagues, and crossed another river with two arms. Here the Kaffirs came out in warlike array, with assagais and shields that covered them, whereupon we assembled in a body, and at the sight of us they threw down their arms and came to us with many hens which we bartered from them. There were several disorders and general vexation in the bartering. An attempt was made to punish a religious for bartering a hen, and a sailor laid violent hands upon an old dignified man and threw him to the ground, to the general sorrow and regret that all respect of persons should thus be lost.

Proceeding on our way we came on the 2nd of November to the mouth of a wide river with a strong current, and as it was necessary to make a raft in order to cross it at low tide, we waited until the next day, bartering many *bolanjas*, a fruit resembling yellow oranges with a thick hard rind and well flavoured pulp. There was a great disturbance during the night, owing to two sea-horses which came out of the river and passed among our cattle with a great noise, and we supposed that the Kaffirs had attacked the camp. The next day the captain Antonio Carvalho da Costa sent four armed men to seek

Kaffirs to show us the ford of the river. They returned with several, who said there was a ford a league higher up. We set out immediately by a bad road, very dangerous in parts on account of the pit-falls for elephants, through which we lost two oxen, and another was extricated with great difficulty. On reaching the place where the river was to be crossed we set about doing so, but it was very wide and full of mud, and we had great difficulty in getting through it with the water to our necks. So many Kaffirs came upon us that the captain was obliged to kill one with his gun, upon which they drew off and allowed us to reach the other side, that was an island. Thence we crossed the other arm of the river with the water to our breasts, which left us very exhausted. A Chinese belonging to Antonio da Camara de Noronha was left on this island asleep, and when he awoke the tide was in, and he could not cross. He came on alone afterwards, and rejoined us in two days, escaping from the barbarians because he carried a gun. Having crossed this river, which is called "das Pescarias," we set out again, the Kaffirs following us with their arms, and we knew they wished to attack us. We encamped for the night, and rested from our past labour, near a brook, where we bartered two sheep, which were divided among the companies.

The next day, after journeying for seven leagues, we encamped near a river of good fresh water, with pleasant trees, in sight of a large kraal, which those who knew the road called the place of succour, for so it had proved to them when they passed that way after the wreck of the small ship. Then the Kaffirs came with two sheep and a few gourds, which we bartered from them, and they returned the next day with more to barter. We turned our cattle out to pasture, of which they had need, with the usual guard of ship's boys. These fell asleep, and the cows got among some reeds, which the Kaffirs noticed, and also the negligence with which they were guarded, and they drove off fifteen of the best, among which were some tame ones which served us as beasts of burden. A ship's boy gave the alarm, calling out that we should look to the cattle, which the Kaffirs were stealing. Captain Antonio Carvalho rushed out of the camp first with the haste the case demanded, and overtaking the negroes our men returned with nine cows, leaving six as prizes of the Kaffirs, for

which we took from them nine calves, nine sheep, and nine she-goats, with as many kids.

Towards evening they came down from their kraal beating drums which they use in war, whereupon several men left the camp with little order, armed with guns without any further provision than the charge which was in them, and going up the mountain they advanced towards the Kaffir kraal and fired their first charge without killing or wounding any one. Upon this the enemy took courage and turned upon our men, who took to flight in such confusion that, calling for help in the king's name as they were being killed, they did not deem themselves safe until they were among the shelters of the camp. Some who had endeavoured to resist were wounded, and others were severely beaten. Salvador Pereira, a passenger, who upon all occasions on which he was present behaved like a good soldier, came out of this fray with two dangerous assagai wounds, and the master Jacinto Antonio, besides being severely beaten, was brought back with four assagai wounds, two in the head, one in the hand, and another very severe in the back. This cowardice and disorder was caused by those who boasted themselves the most valiant, and they were the first to turn their backs, without so much as putting a bullet into one of these barbarians.

Night closed in, and the wounded were attended to with cocoa-nut oil, and a strict and double watch was set to guard the camp, which was prepared for every emergency. Twenty persons prepared to go and attack the kraal next day. In the morning the Kaffirs began to descend upon the camp with loud cries and brandishing assagais, and they came so close that it was necessary to go out against them in order to prevent them attacking us in the shelters, which would have been our total ruin, seeing their determination. At the first discharge of the guns a Kaffir was badly wounded, upon seeing which the others fled, and our men, led by Antonio Carvalho da Costa, pursued them in good order, leaving the camp in the care of Antonio da Camara de Noronha, who was sick. We reached their kraal and set fire to it and to eight others. With our servants and the ship's boys carrying what we found therein, we returned to the camp uninjured. We gained some profit by this, for the spoil was equally divided, and during the preceding twenty days we had eaten nothing except beef.

On the 8th of November we left that place, and proceeded along the shore in good order, keeping strict watch upon the cattle. When we had gone a little way many armed Kaffirs came out of a wood, bringing with them cows to mix with ours and so carry them all off, for the cattle are so trained to obey their whistling that they can make them run or stop at will. Domingos Borges de Sousa went forward and got behind a mound which afforded him cover, and from it he fired at one of the Kaffirs who was making the most grimaces and killed him with a bullet, and the others fled with their cattle without stopping or attempting to harm us. Being thus delivered from these barbarians we pressed forward hastily, for the day's journey was long and there was much rain and thunder. We reached a river in which the Kaffirs were fishing, with a quantity of fish already heaped on the shore, and at sight of us they left it and fled in haste, and there was so much that the whole camp was satisfied with it that day and the next. In this place we buried Bartholomeu Rodrigues, son-in-law of the pilot Gaspar Rodrigues Coelho.

The next day, having crossed the river at low tide with the water to our necks by a bad ford with a high wind and intense cold, we again advanced along the shore until we reached a stream of good water five leagues from the river of Santa Lucia. As we were told that there was no more water until we should reach that river, we remained there that day, refreshing ourselves and killing cows for the next day's march. We set out along the shore, each one carrying his gourd of water with great inconvenience. Afterwards we poured it out, for we found water in great abundance, which came down from the clefts of the rocks to the shore in more than fifty places. After walking four leagues and crossing a stretch of sand with barren sand hills reaching to the clouds, we came to the river of Santa Lucia and made our camp upon its bank among many green thorn trees. We found the river impassable at the mouth, being very wide and impetuous, ebbing and flowing without ceasing, so that it was like the sea on the coast of Spain.

We dug pits to obtain fresh water for ourselves and the cattle, and finding no wood for a raft and no food for the cattle, after passing the feast of Saint Martin there, it was decided that we should turn back and go inland until we found a ford; for as

there were no means of crossing at the mouth, to delay was simply to endanger the cattle, our lives, and all hope of safety. At this river some of those who bartered for the camp and of those who assisted in this duty, who had millet and other hidden grain stolen from the general store, began to sell it at two xerafins a copper plateful, straight measure, receiving money from those who had any or pledges of gold from those who wished to buy, increasing the price as the supply diminished until it reached four cruzados. This completed the unpopularity of the new captain Antonio Carvalho, because he allowed and encouraged it, by which it appeared that he had a share in this usury and exposed many to death from this cause. Indeed this man never did his duty to preserve us and the cattle until we reached the kingdom of Unyaca, when the command was again changed and was given to Antonio da Camara de Noronha; but we need not be surprised that he, being a sailor, should have been found wanting when many, whose blood and position laid very different obligations upon them, allowed themselves to be moved by vile interest to commit actions unfit to be spoken or written of.

Guided by two of our comrades, who had gone out to explore the country the day before, we left that river and turned back. Coming upon it again after going over many sand hills and endeavouring in vain to find a way through a wood which we reached, we made our camp at a distance from it among high jungle-grass. It rained a good deal in the night, and the drinking water was more than half a league distant and was carried with difficulty. We came upon a fruit, which is called the milk fruit, of which we made provision, as it was ripe. Salvador Pereira found here articles to the value of a thousand cruzados which he had lost, and he redeemed a pledge for millet.

In the morning God sent us two Kaffirs, to whom copper was given to guide us to the ford of the river. They led us through sandy places and thickets which were sometimes high, till we came to a garden of gourds and green water-melons, of which not one was left uneaten. We descended to a cultivated plain near their kraals, and they showed us a shady road, with many gardens, and sold us green tobacco. We came to an arm of the river Santa Lucia, which we crossed, going through many bogs and pools with water to the waist. At the second arm, which runs three leagues inland, we halted for the night, having but

little fuel or stakes necessary for making shelters. In this place we buried Manuel Alvares Pequeninno, a sailor of the ship, whom a ship's boy, his comrade, who afterwards died at Cape Correntes, had carried on his shoulders for four days, because he could not walk, giving this proof of good friendship at a time when it was not found even in a son for his father.

On Saturday, the 17th of the month, we went inland, and saw pleasant plains inhabited by countless elephants. We crossed the other arm of the river Santa Lucia, in which there were many bogs that detained us nearly all the day getting the cattle over. We rendered thanks to God, who had brought us safely across this great river, which, together with that of the Golden Downs, which lay before us, was our chief fear, and had been a source of anxiety to us throughout our journey. Having overcome this difficulty we halted for the night on a plain, where a cow was killed for the whole camp. Going inland that day more than seven leagues, seeking water in order to halt for the night, we came upon a pleasant river bordered with shady trees, and having crossed it with the water to the top of our legs, we encamped for the night among some high jungle grass which made us a soft bed.

Kaffirs appeared the next day, and so we remained to barter cattle, our stock of which was failing. Setting out from that place, we went forward until the afternoon over a barren country, and halted in a damp thicket in sight of a great plain through which a river flowed, and we could not find the ford. We slept in this place, and saw countless herds of elephants, which did not come near us. We turned back the next day, for we could not ford the river. The road by which we went inland was very troublesome because of the large bogs and marshy places, from which we had great trouble to extricate the cattle, especially those which were laden. Seeking a place in which to rest, for we dared attempt no more, we selected one opposite some ruined straw huts, from which two Kaffirs came out to barter wood and water. That evening we killed cattle for all, spending the night in that place, and set out in the morning.

We called one of the two Kaffirs and gave him a little meat, of which they are very fond, and a piece of copper, asking him to be our guide. He led us over mount and valley for a league and a half, and then ran away from us. Some went one way and

some another, until we assembled again near the same river as the day before. We went up its bank, for we could not find a ford, and crossed about three leagues farther on, with the water to our necks, in sight of numerous kraals, from which the Kaffirs came out to wait for us with many cows. We encamped on a beautiful plain, and immediately they came with milk and hens, which were divided among the sick. There was no millet at this place, though crops of it were not lacking, but it was still green.

On the feast of the Presentation of our Lady, the 21st of November, we bartered all the cows we chose, and though at a higher price than before, we supplied ourselves with a hundred and forty head, with which we set out. We had rested for three days, and left behind us buried near the river João Barbosa, servant of the count of Prado, Dom Luis de Sousa, who came from the kingdom with the viceroy Pedro da Silva, and served in India as auditor of the city of Daman and of the kingdom of Japanapatam.

Leaving that place with very little strength, for a constant diet of boiled and roasted beef with nothing else is not much help to those who have to endure such labour, and several fell sick from this cause, after we had crossed that river, which was said to be an arm of the river of the Golden Downs, the negroes never ceased following us with cows, and bartering gourds, water-melons, and tobacco in the leaf. The barterers of the camp suggested that as there would be no more cattle obtainable until the kingdom of Unyaca was reached, we ought to barter a larger number and take with us as many as were necessary; and as copper had no value farther on, we should therefore break up the kettles, for there was no lack of pipkins in which to do the cooking. Several kettles were concealed, being bartered from their owners for copper, which was given to those who were of this opinion, and afterwards at Cape Correntes they served to barter with, for it is certain that throughout all Kaffraria copper and brass are valued more highly than all goods. For this and similar actions the captain Antonio Carvalho was disliked, because he allowed such things to be done in a camp of so many good people who were under his charge.

These negroes being so well disposed, we marched to a river which we crossed with the water to our knees, and there left

them, encamping for the night two leagues farther on, in a barren land, with water, in sight of straw huts from which the owners came out to us with a quantity of milk and gourds. The next day they brought cows, but the price being high we could not agree, nor concerning several ivory tusks which they wished to barter. We left this place after dinner, going forward in the great heat for nearly three leagues until we came to a river of fresh water in the middle of a plain surrounded by thickets, in which we halted for the night. Some Kaffirs came out of the thickets to barter fish, and when copper was given to them they took it without delivering the fish, but threatening us with their assagais they made off to the thicket with both fish and copper, and came out in bands to make grimaces at us until it grew dark. Night fell with a great storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, so that the heavens seemed about to fall. All the guns got wet, and we were delayed in the morning cleaning them and cooking the cattle which were killed overnight.

Before we set out they came and barred our way, getting their assagais ready with loud shouts, and demanding the cattle in their language. In reply to this Paulo de Barros, who was in the van, fired his gun at one who drew near, and killed him, whereupon the others took to flight, and we pursued them. They came out of the thickets into the open plain, where a great number of Kaffirs bewailed the dead man.

When exploring a plain we caught sight of some people with hats, who with one on the end of a lance came forward shouting. The captain Antonio Carvalho, with others, went forward to meet them, thinking that they were strangers from the wreck of a boat which we had found broken on the shore. He found that they were from the wreck of the galleon *Sacramento*, our flag ship, and with great grief he returned with these shipwrecked sailors in his company, who were only five Portuguese, one Canarin, a mulatto, a Malabar, and a Kaffir, whom we all embraced with many tears, as men who met in a savage land so far from our country, and through so sad a cause as the loss of such ships with so many men and so great riches. We saw here nine persons who, unarmed, had travelled so far among so many barbarians, who laid an ambush every hour, from which God delivered them. Of their comrades who escaped from the wreck some fell by the hands of the Kaffirs, others died of hunger and

hardship, and some remained behind alive because they had no strength to proceed. These nine were Manuel Luis, ropemaker of the galleon, whom they elected captain, Marcos Peres Jacome, the under pilot, the caulker, two Portuguese ship's boys, a mulatto, a Canarin, and two slaves. All continued in our company until we took our siesta during the great heat under some trees opposite a river of fresh water, more than a league and a half from the place from which we set out.

Leaving that place towards the evening we came upon a fig-tree laden with figs of Portugal, so ripe and ready for eating that we all sat down at the foot of the tree, and some climbed up, gathering and throwing down so many that we remained there for an hour and a half, eating until we were satisfied; and we carried away as many as we could, leaving the tree as heavily laden as if it had not been touched. A little farther on we halted for the night, sheltering our nine comrades from the galleon, who gave an account of their shipwreck until we fell asleep. Then there arose a furious storm of rain, wind, and lightning, and not a shelter was left standing except that of the father Friar Antonio de São Guilherme.

After the storm which on the eve of the feast of Saint Anthony overtook the galleon and the ship *Atalaya*, they related that the galleon was left without a mainsail, but the topsail had been furled, which was set when the storm began. With the storm-sail close to the wind they steered east-north-east with the lantern alight, with great difficulty, springing many leaks, which were stopped after the storm was over, and they had done all that is considered effectual on such occasions. At daybreak, finding themselves separated from the ship *Atalaya*, running before the waves, which were very high, they turned towards the land, and were overtaken by another storm on the feast of Saint John. When it was over they pursued their course towards the Cape of Good Hope, without losing sight of the land after they had seen it. Sailing with the foresail set, very close to the shore, on the feast of Saint Peter, in the afternoon of the 29th of June, the waves being high, the chief pilot was directed to stand out to sea. This he did during one glass before sunset, pursuing that course for six glasses of the dog watch and eight of the first watch, and when the middle-watch began, he steered for the land with the foresail set; and after six glasses the moon appeared

and those of the watch announced that land was very close. On hearing this the pilot gave orders to stand out to sea, as the wind was gentle and the current setting strongly towards the shore.

The galleon misstayed and would not turn completely about, in spite of the efforts which were made by unfurling the fore-topsail and sprit-sail. Her bow always turned to the shore, and she drifted towards it for two hours, in spite of the rudder and management of the sails, until rising on a great wave she struck from stem to stern and quickly went to pieces. The two galleries fell into the sea with the poop, and the chief captain Luis de Miranda Henriques, Father Sebastião da Maya, of the Company of Jesus, and many others, who after they came on deck, seeing there was no further hope, withdrew to the galleries to confess themselves; and only one of them escaped. Of the others, who had remained in the prow, some got ashore clinging to the yards, and some to pieces of timber, when it was clear daylight, amid great waves and reefs, to the number of seventy-two living souls, in latitude 34°.

They remained there eleven days, without seeing a Kaffir or any living being, and refreshing themselves with such things as the sea cast ashore, which was very little. They journeyed onwards for a month before they found indications of the wreck of the *Atalaya*, and at the place where it occurred they found a little Kaffir girl and two little cabras who were maimed, from whom they learned the fate of the ship and that it was twenty-eight days since the people had left the place. There they provided themselves with powder and ball, of which they stood in need, and ate some leather which they found. Then they set out again and marched until they came upon Dona Barbara, whom they found alive near the nun Joanna do Espirito Santo, the pilot, and the notary, who lay dead. She grieved them enough by asking them to take her with them, and when they asked if she could walk she said no, and so they left her.

They went forward until they reached the river where the ship *Belem* was lost, where only ten of them arrived, some of the others having been left dead, killed by the Kaffirs or by famine, and some having remained behind alive because they could not walk. They were brought to such extremity of famine and

misery that not a shoe or anything of the kind but was devoured even to a mariner's chart, which killed all those who ate it because of the mercury in the colours. They came to fighting hand to hand for a locust, which may well be imagined, for there was a day when five or six died of sheer hunger.

From the river of the ship *Belem* onwards, though few and suffering great alarms from the barbarians every hour, they always followed the track of the people of the *Atalaya*, finding signs of it now and then, and getting information from the Kaffirs themselves, from whom God delivered them so far and allowed us all to meet again.

When the severe storm was over and the 28th of November dawned, we set out, taking with us two native Kaffirs to show us the way, for which they were rewarded with a piece of beef and a piece of copper. Guided by them we advanced towards the river of the Golden Downs, which we reached towards eight o'clock. All marvelled at its great width, for the land was hardly visible on the other side, as more than three leagues of water lay between. We entered it with great difficulty, the Kaffirs leading, with the water to our breasts. The day was cold, with wind, and a swell, and we crossed with the baggage on our heads and the cattle in the middle, and the water became more shallow, being below the waist. When we got near the shore on the other side there was another channel, where the water was up to our necks. We reached the other side towards three in the afternoon, wet and worn-out, as may well be imagined. We thanked God for his mercy in allowing us to meet with these Kaffirs, without whom it would have been impossible to attempt this ford, it being as wide as the sea of Lisbon near Barreiro. Here were drowned two young men, servants of Salvador Pereira, a Chinese and a native of Borneo.

We rested that afternoon and night, and the next day we set out inland, in sight of the shore. The country along our route was thickly populated, and the people came out to us with gourds, water-melons, bolangas, and tobacco. And so we went on without millet or sesame, for it was not yet harvest time, and in this place and throughout nearly the whole of Kaffraria it had not rained for five years, causing great famine and a plague of locusts which left not a blade of grass where they passed. The road along the shore to the kingdom of Unyaca is not good, for it is

dry, with no water, and great sand-hills. We sometimes left it for that reason, but were forced to return to it.

On the 2nd of December, having with difficulty gone round a swamp and through thickets that morning, we came out upon a level plain where we rested. Leaving that place, we went forward over the same plain until night, when we halted near some pools of water. Here we found a sailor missing, whose name was Pedro Gaspar, married in Lisbon, a master shoemaker in the street called Pé de Navaes, who falling into poverty and having a family came in the same ship to India in search of a relation who might assist him, and he was now returning to his home with the necessary aid. We kept up fires all night that this man might be able to find the camp, and it was impossible for him to miss it if he sought it. The next day his comrades were sent back to the place where we had rested at dinner-time. They returned without him, and with no tidings of him. There were various opinions upon this matter, but no certainty, and losing all hope of his reappearance we set out again.

Each one bartered for himself at will, sesame, hens, gourds, and water-melons, until we reached a large river when the greater part of the company pressed forward and crossed it with water to their necks. As the tide was rising and it was no longer possible to ford the river, the company of the father Friar Antonio and others slept in a wood near it. Quantities of fish and hens were brought to him for barter, and so we passed the time until the tide allowed us to cross the river next day and join the others. Here we saw the first Kaffir who spoke Portuguese, and he called us sailors and said that at the island of Shefina there were two pangayos. We were glad enough to hear it, for we feared to find no vessel from Mozambique.

Having joined those on the other side, we advanced through a fine grove of trees, with fresh water, for two days. The food for barter was plentiful, consisting of fish, salt, the first we had seen, sesame, millet, honey, butter, eggs, hens, she-goats, and sheep, all in such abundance that it seemed to us that we had reached a land of plenty. Everyone bartered freely for pieces of cloth and old rotten rags, in whatever state they were, as if they had been without a hole.

Thence we set out again on the 13th of December, with many Kaffirs in our company. There were two thunder storms

with heavy rain that day, and we halted for the night nearly a league beyond a thick wood. Thence we set out in the morning of the 14th of December along the shore, and having gone about a league we found many Kaffirs to guide us inland with great rejoicing. Therefore we advanced another league, until we reached the court of the king Unyaca, also called Sangoan, where we found him seated on a mat at his door under a tree, upon which his insignia of royalty were hung according to the Kaffir custom. These were a cow's head with the horns, and a very long pole tied to the top of the same tree, with a bow at the end and an arrow fitted to it. The old king was clothed with a dimity coverlet dyed with red ochre; his interpreter stood beside him, through whom he saluted us, welcoming us with a good will and giving us information that the vessel from Mozambique had reached the island of Shefina twelve leagues from this kingdom, although no factory had yet been opened in this Unyaca, according to custom.

After this he gave orders that we should be lodged in the straw huts which were there, and they brought us plentiful barter of sesame, hens, sweet potatoes, butter, and fish, which each one traded for at will with pieces of shirts, trousers, and handkerchiefs, and every kind of cloth, so that during the fifteen days we remained there we had always more than sufficient barter. The king sent to the captain Antonio da Camara, to whom Antonio Carvalho had surrendered the command in sight of Unyaca, a little sesame and some pieces of sea-horse flesh, and he responded with two silver sprinklers, a piece of cloth edged with silk, and a length of cloth of Baroche. These Kaffirs, from their dealings with and knowledge of the Portuguese, are great merchants, interested and distrustful, and will not give up the article they are trading until they have received the piece of cloth for which it is to be bartered.

As there was no such certain information of the vessel as we desired, to be had here, it seemed advisable to send one of our number to obtain it, and to inform the captain thereof of our arrival and shipwreck. Therefore, two days later, Antonio Carvalho was despatched with six Portuguese and two native Kaffirs to guide him to the island of Shefina. They crossed over to it with great difficulty, and there they found

a galliot, and were hospitably received by the crew. The captain Diogo Velho da Fonseca, a native of the town Villa Franca de Xira, married and settled in Mozambique, had gone to found the factories of Manisa, Manuel Bombo, and Locodone. Being advised there of our shipwreck and arrival at Unyaca, like a good vassal of his Majesty (whom may God guard) he immediately sent our people back with a Moorish pilot with cloth for the expenses of the journey and the small skiff and trading lusio in which to cross the rivers of Lebumbo and Machavane. Antonio Carvalho and his companions, on their return with such good news, were received by us with great rejoicing and demonstration of the pleasure we all experienced, especially when we knew that this was the only vessel which had come thither for four years, which we attributed to the goodness and mercy of God, may He be ever praised for His Divine Providence.

On the 28th of December we left the kingdom of Unyaca with some Kaffirs who had become friendly with us during the fifteen days we remained there. We went across the country beside a great lake and a few kraals as far as a river which we forded with the water to our waists. We travelled a considerable distance that day, the heat being very great, and arrived at the kingdom of Machavane when it was late. He is richer and more powerful than Sangoan, and he came to meet us naked, with a cape of hide over his shoulders. Here we passed the night, and the next day he sent the captain a cow, and he responded with a white sock. We set out thence on the 30th of the month, the king accompanying us for a league, and taking leave of us with many courtesies. He sent one of his kinsmen in our company to guide us to the river Machavane, which we reached at noon. As it was very impetuous and deep we were obliged to cross it in canoes, and began to do so at once, half the camp being left to cross it the next day. Three ship's boys were crossing that afternoon in one of these canoes, when it suddenly sprang a leak, through a hole which had been stopped with clay, and foundered, leaving them with no choice but to swim ashore. One, named Antonio Jorge, was drowned, and the others reached the shore with great difficulty.

When all had reached the other side with the cattle, of

which there still remained more than forty baggage cows, we set out for the kingdom of Tembe the Elder, where we halted for the night. He brought the captain a kid, for which he gave him a length of spotted cloth. Setting out the next day, after a long journey we came at night-fall to the kingdom of Tembe the Younger, a king rich in subjects and cattle. Here we encountered such a terrific storm of rain and thunder that not a shelter was left standing, and we were obliged to remain there the next day, dividing for food a cow which the king sent us, and some of our baggage cows, one among every eighteen persons. Here we bartered quantities of milk and melons, and a letter came from the captain of the galliot, Diogo Velho da Fonseca, bidding us hasten, as he was waiting for us with great eagerness, and he sent the lusio that we might embark with all the baggage and the sick; the captain and the religious were to go in the skiff, and the others by land.

From the kingdom of Tembe the Younger we set out for the river of Lebumbo. We could not avail ourselves by the way of the Kaffirs who brought milk and water-melons as big as bags of rice. We stopped to eat before we reached the shore, in a kraal where we found some of the sailors from the lusio, who led us to the shore and place of passage, where the master of the galliot, Manuel Rodrigues Sardinha, and other Portuguese came out to meet us, weeping with sorrow for our shipwreck and all our hardships and misery. We rendered thanks to God that He had brought us to the sight of these Portuguese and a vessel of our nation, in which we crossed to the other side. We left the cattle on the opposite shore under the care of a Kaffir, Benamusa, who was to bring them over to the island of Shefina, which he afterwards did, and we paid him for his labour. These baggage cows of ours were the greatest relief and solace to us throughout the whole of Kaffraria, and it is certain that but for them not half the number would have survived, for of the whole camp only the father Friar Affonso de Beja, although he was old and blind, and myself always travelled on foot, which is mentioned to show the great service these animals were of to us.

The sick and all the baggage being embarked in the lusio, and the captain and religious in the skiff, they set sail on Saturday the 4th of January. The others set out by land

with Domingos Borges de Sousa as captain, and the father Friar Diogo da Apresentação and myself in his company. We had the Moorish pilot for our guide, and passed through many kraals that day, taking our siesta in one where we procured many hens, milk, water-melons, and bolangas. After we had travelled three leagues we halted for the night. We set out again early the next day, in order to be in time to hear mass at the place where the galliot was. We came in sight of it at about eight o'clock in the morning, after crossing many large bogs. Great was our joy at the sight, and some could not believe their eyes when they thought of all the hardships, famine, thirst, cold, and heat which we had endured. We waited on the shore until the afternoon, because the skiff and lusio had not yet arrived. We crossed in them in three passages, the last landing when it was already night on an uninhabited island; on the 5th of January, the eve of Twelfth Night 1648, we set out at once for the church of straw which was built there upon the arrival of the galliot, and in which there is a chaplain and mass is said to render thanks to God and to the Virgin of the Rosary, to whom the church is dedicated.

The captain Diogo Velho da Fonseca with his comrades of the galliot came to the shore to receive us with great joy and affection. The next day he divided among us all enough rice and sesame for three days, and supplied many with linen and shoes, and those who afterwards availed themselves of his larder were provided with sweetmeats and all the dainties he had for the sick, and none were refused. He deserved great gratitude and favour for this good conduct and liberality, which he exhibited on this occasion, when the rest of his company sold us a fardo (42 pounds) of rice for fourteen golden cruzados, and a bunch of bananas for six and a half, a jar of oil and vinegar for ten, shoes for three and four cruzados, a canada of Portuguese wine for twelve cruzados, and one of palm-wine for four: such usury as was never seen.

On the third day after our arrival the people of the ship and galleon, numbering a hundred and twenty-four Portuguese and thirty negro slaves, were divided among the five factories already established twenty leagues up the river, where there was no lack of food, for which three pieces of cloth a month

were paid for each person, on His Majesty's account. The captain remained on the island the guest of Captain Diogo Velho, and the religious, officers, and ship's passengers were accommodated in straw huts which were newly built and in others which the Lascars of the galliot were paid to vacate. We spent six months on this desert island, going nowhere but to the factories, to which some repaired for provisions and refreshment. We who remained on the island had the consolation of five or six masses every day, a great relief in the plague which prevailed at the island and factories, where many died, in the last from too great abundance of food and the want of a blood-letter, and in the former from sharp fevers which yielded to no remedy, and from which no one escaped suffering; and many suffered from the itch. Therefore Salvador Pereira, the master Jacinto Antonio, Amador Monteiro the captain's comrade, son of the glorious martyr the ambassador to Japan, in a body left this place of disease, to which Father Francisco Pereira, of the Company of Jesus, succumbed; and of those of the galleon only Manuel Luis, the rope-maker, Marcos Peres, the underpilot, Francisco Gomes, a Canarin, and one Kaffir escaped.

When the time came to depart, all the survivors assembled in the factories and embarked, weighing anchor on the 22nd of June in the afternoon, with the spring tides, steering among beacons, the bay being full of shoals. Having cast anchor at the island of Unyaca we bartered many hens and sweet potatoes, and setting sail on the feast of Saint John we steered our course for Mozambique, with three hundred persons, white and black, in the galliot, for the most part sick and ill accommodated, for the ship was small. On the 9th of July we cast anchor opposite the fortress, where Amaro Jorge, a sailor of the ship, a native of Ueyros, died. On reaching the port Captain Diogo Velho went ashore, and presently returned angry enough with the governor Alvaro de Sousa de Tavora, with orders that none should land nor any boat be suffered to approach us save that of the governor, in which we were all taken to the fortress, where with the auditor, factor, and his notaries, he held an enquiry both concerning the loss of the ships and of the diamonds which escaped. Thence each one withdrew to such place as he found convenient, until it was time to embark

for India, the governor ordering the seamen alone to be assisted with a ration of rice and one cruzado a month. He took some who were unmarried as soldiers for the fort, as he stood in great need of them, and divided the remainder among the three ships which were to set out for Goa.

On the 11th of September we set sail with the land breeze, five ships in all, three for Goa, the pinnace for Diu, and the other for the islands of Comoro, the pinnace used for trading at the rivers of Cuama, for which the governor had made us wait, being seen tacking and waiting for the wind in order to put in. Proceeding on our course we separated from the pinnace for Diu and that of the islands, those for Goa keeping together as far as latitude 10° , where the governor's urca tacked to seaward and the pinnace of Francisco Dias Soares towards the land, leaving us in the galliot of Thomé Gonçalves de Pangim. The captain and pilot was Manuel Soares, a native of Lisbon, from whom I hired a cabin for myself and my comrades the fathers Friar Antonio de São Guilherme and Friar Diogo da Apresentação.

The galliot being small and a bad sailer, the captain yet managed so that in spite of calms, storms, and contrary winds, she alone reached Goa that monsoon, coming in sight of land after forty-seven days between Angediva and Cape da Rama. Land breezes and others failing us, and not knowing the state of Goa harbour, by the unanimous opinion of all we turned back and entered the harbour of Onor on the 1st of November, fifty-two days after we had left Mozambique. On the day following, the 2nd of November, I set out for Goa with the fathers in a boat of fourteen oars, and arrived there on the 8th of November in the morning.

All were amazed at the tidings of our shipwreck, and still more because of the many which had occurred at the city that year, for there were lost in the harbour a pinnace and a caravel laden for China with rich cargoes, from which not a soul escaped, even to the general of Macao, Antonio Vaz Pinto, seven ships laden with the reinforcements for Ceylon, and twelve ships of the fleet of Canara, nothing being saved from any of them. They also suffered an earthquake, which left not a tree standing, the loss of the palm-groves of the island and lands of Salsette and Bardes being estimated at more than two hun-

dred thousand, besides many churches and mango-groves innumerable, while no tidings or ship had come thither from the kingdom, nor the urca of the governor of Mozambique, which contained the wealth and resources of that city and the diamonds which escaped from the ships. They were also grieved by the loss of the galleon *Santo Milagre*, from which some escaped to the reef on which she struck in 6° south latitude. They made a boat, in which only forty men reached the islands of Querimba, leaving the others upon the reef sustaining themselves with birds and turtles. The ship *Pata* was also lacking, which was coming from the kingdom and ran ashore at the rivers of Cuama, most of those on board being saved; but they perished after embarking for Mozambique with the governor Alvaro de Sousa da Tavora in his pinnace for trading at the rivers, which ran ashore in a storm, and all died of hunger and thirst, except the governor himself and a few servants who escaped with difficulty.

I am in doubt at what to marvel most, whether at the certainty with which disasters occur at sea, or the confidence with which navigators always expect to escape them. Foreign authors may say what they choose: the Portuguese nation alone in the world was born with the gift of discovering the secrets of the land and sea.

FINIS. LAUS DEO.

ABSTRACT
OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO
SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA
FROM 1569 TO 1700,
AND
AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST APPEARANCE
OF THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH
IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I.

DISASTROUS EXPEDITIONS UNDER BARRETO AND HOMEM.

DONA CATHARINA acted as regent of Portugal until 1562, when she retired and the cardinal Dom Henrique, younger brother of King João III, took her place. While he was head of the government nothing worthy of mention occurred in South-Eastern Africa. It was his intention to station at Mozambique an ecclesiastical administrator, with authority almost equal to that of a bishop, and a bull was obtained from the pope for the purpose. The archbishop of Goa gave his consent to the separation from his diocese of the territory from the Cape of Good Hope to Melinde. The licentiate Manuel Coutinho, one of the royal chaplains, received the appointment, with a salary of about 80*l.* a year from the 1st of April 1563. But something occurred to prevent the plan being carried into execution, and it was not revived until half a century later.

In 1568 Dom Sebastião, though only in his fifteenth year, was declared to be of age, and was crowned king of Portugal, then an absolute monarchy. His was a strange character: gloomy, but adventurous to the last degree, deeply religious according to the standard of his time, but wilful and vain, brave as any warrior who ever held lance in hand, but rash as the most imprudent of those crusaders whom in many respects he greatly resembled. He had hardly assumed the reins of government when he resolved to create a vast dominion in Africa south of the Zambesi, a dominion which in wealth and importance would rival that of Castile in the countries subjected to that crown by the daring of Cortes and Pizarro.

Ever since the establishment of the trading station at Sofala a quantity of gold had been obtained yearly in commerce, but that quantity was so small as to be disappointing. Compared with the wealth which flowed into Spain from Mexico and Peru it was almost as nothing. Yet the belief was general in Portugal that the mines of South Africa were as rich as those of America, and that if possession of them was taken, boundless wealth would be obtained.

Were not these the mines from which the queen of Sheba got the gold which she presented to King Solomon? said the Portuguese enthusiasts. Was not Masapa the ancient Ophir? Why even then the Kalanga Kaffirs called the mountain close to the residence of their great chief Fura, and the Arabs called it Aufur, what was that but a corruption of Ophir? There, at Abasia, close to Masapa and to the mountain Fura, was a mine so rich that there were seldom years in which nuggets worth four thousand cruzados (1904*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*)* were not taken from it. Then there were the mines of Manika and far distant Butua, worked only by Bantu, who neither knew how to dig nor had the necessary tools. Only by washing river sand and soil in pools after heavy rains, these barbarians obtained all the gold that was purchased at Sofala and the smaller stations: what would not be got if civilised Europeans owned the territory? For it was to be borne in mind that the Bantu were extremely indolent, that when any one of them obtained sufficient gold to supply his immediate wants, he troubled himself about washing the soil no longer.

All this and more of the same nature was exciting the minds of the people of Portugal, and was reflected in the glowing pages of their writers. It was therefore a highly popular enterprise that the boy king was about to embark upon, one in which he could employ the best men and much

* The weight of the cruzado of King Sebastião is given to me by the curator of the coin department of the British Museum as 58·7 grains Troy, and its purity as practically the same as that of English gold. I have therefore estimated it at 114·28*d.*

of the wealth of the country without a murmur from any one. Before the necessary preparations were made, however, the pious sovereign submitted to a board termed the table of conscience the question whether aggressive warfare against the native ruler of the coveted territory would be lawful and just. The reply must have been foreseen, but it would relieve the monarch of personal moral responsibility in the eyes of Christendom, probably even in his own, if his learned advisers favoured his views.

The board of conscience consisted of seven individuals, who took the circumstances of the case into consideration, and on the 23rd of January 1569 pronounced their opinion. They declared that as the Monomotapa and his predecessors had been guilty of killing and robbing their own innocent subjects as well as several Portuguese traders, that one of them had ordered the father Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, a peaceful missionary, to be murdered, that by them two Portuguese ambassadors from the captain of Sofala had been robbed and detained as prisoners, that they sheltered in their dominions many Moors, the enemies of the Christian faith and instigators of evil, and that apostolic bulls were in existence conceding to the king all the commerce of the country from Cape Nun to India upon condition of his causing the gospel to be preached there, it would be right and proper to demand in moderate terms that the African ruler should receive and protect Christian missionaries, expel the Moors, cease tyrannical conduct towards his subjects, carry on commerce in a friendly manner, and make sufficient compensation for all damage done and expenses incurred; and upon his failing to do so war might justly be made upon him. It would certainly be difficult to find better reasons for hostilities than those here given, if the true object had not been something very different.

The next step was the division of India into three governments. Complaints were unceasing that in places distant from Goa it was almost impossible to carry on business properly, owing to the length of time required to obtain orders and

instructions, and it was evident that war on an extensive scale could not be conducted successfully in Eastern Africa if the general in command should be in any way hampered. The whole sphere of Portuguese influence in the East was therefore separated into three sections: the first extending from Cape Correntes to Cape Guardafui, the second from Cape Guardafui to Pegu, and the third from Pegu to China. As head of the first and commander in chief of the expedition about to be sent out the king's choice fell upon Francisco Barreto, an officer of experience in war, who had been governor general of India from 1555 to 1558, and who was then in chief command of the royal galleys. The appointment was a popular one, for Barreto had the reputation of being not only brave and skilful, but the most generous cavalier of his day. He was instructed to enrol a thousand soldiers, and was supplied with a hundred thousand cruzados (47,616*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) in ready money, with a promise of an equal sum in gold and a reinforcement of five hundred men every year until the conquest should be completed. All Lisbon was in a state of excitement when this became known, and so great was the enthusiasm with which the project was regarded that from every side cadets of the best families pressed forward and offered their services. The recruiting offices were so crowded that only the very best men were selected, and those who were rejected would have sufficed for another expedition.

Three ships were engaged to take the troops to Mozambique. One of these—the *Rainha*—was a famous Indiaman, and the largest in the king's service. In addition to the crew, six hundred soldiers, of whom more than half were of gentle blood and two hundred were court attendants, embarked with Barreto in this ship. In each of the others two hundred soldiers embarked. One was commanded by Vasco Fernandes Homem, the other by Lourenço Carvalho. The viceroy at Goa was instructed to forward supplies of provisions and military stores to Mozambique, and to procure horses, asses, and camels at Ormuz for the use of the expedition. A hundred negroes were sent out to take care of the animals

when they arrived. To accompany the expedition four fathers of the Society of Jesus were selected, one of whom—Francisco Monclaros by name—wrote an account of it which is still in existence.

On the 16th of April 1569 the expedition, that was supposed to have a brilliant career before it, sailed from Belem amidst the roar of artillery and a great sound of trumpets. Almost immediately the first trouble was encountered, in the form of a gale which caused so much damage to the ship commanded by Lourenço Carvalho that she was obliged to return to Lisbon, where she was condemned. The other two took seventy-seven days to reach the equator, and then separated, Vasco Fernandes Homem proceeding to Mozambique, where he arrived in August, and the captain general steering for the bay of All Saints on the coast of Brazil to procure water and refreshments. The *Rainha* dropped anchor in this bay on the 4th of August, and remained until the end of January 1570, waiting for the favourable monsoon. During this time sixty of the soldiers died, but as many others were obtained in their stead.

At the bay of All Saints Francisco Barreto received information of a destructive plague that had broken out in Lisbon, and that his wife, Dona Beatriz d'Ataide, had died of it only two days after his departure. Having sailed again, the Cape of Good Hope was passed in safety, but on the banks of Agulhas a storm was encountered which drove the ship so far back that she was thirty-six days in recovering her position. In consequence of this, Mozambique was not reached until the 16th of May 1570, where Vasco Fernandes Homem was found with his men all ill and having lost many by death, among them his own son Antonio Mascarenhas. None of the requisite supplies or animals had yet arrived from India. Pedro Barreto, a nephew of the commander in chief, had been captain of Sofala and Mozambique, but upon hearing of the new arrangement in a fit of jealousy had thrown up his appointment and embarked in a ship returning to Europe. This is the man whose shabby treatment of Luis

de Camões has blackened his name for ever in Portuguese history. He died on the passage to Lisbon. His affairs in Africa were wound up by his agent, from whom Vasco Fernandes Homem, who assumed the government, demanded the proceeds of his property, amounting to about thirty-three thousand pounds sterling. This money was transferred to Francisco Barreto upon his arrival, who made use of it in defraying some of the expenses of the expedition.

The town of Mozambique at this time contained about a hundred Portuguese residents and two hundred Indians and Kaffirs. The Mohamedan village on the island was in a ruinous condition. The construction of Fort São Sebastião was progressing, and some heavy artillery brought out in the *Rainha* was landed to be mounted on its walls.

Francisco Barreto appointed Lourenço Godinho captain of Mozambique provisionally, and in October sent Vasco Fernandes Homem with three hundred soldiers to the ports along the coast to the northward to obtain provisions and then take possession of the Comoro islands. A few weeks later he followed himself in pangayos with the remainder of his force who were in health, and overtook Homem at Kilwa, which was then a place of very little importance. From Kilwa he proceeded to Mafia, and after a stay there of two or three days, to Zanzibar. At this island some Kaffirs who were in insurrection were reduced to order. After this Barreto visited Mombasa, Melinde, Cambo, and Pate. At the place last named the inhabitants were more hostile to the Portuguese than at any other settlement on the coast, and on that account it was intended to destroy the town; but it was found almost deserted, and the few people left in it begged for mercy and were spared on paying five thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds sterling, partly in gold and partly in cloth and provisions. They avenged themselves after the expedition sailed, however, by robbing and murdering several Portuguese traders. As many of the soldiers had died along the coast and others were very ill, Barreto here abandoned his design against the Comoro islands, and from

Pate returned to Mozambique with the tribute money and provisions he had obtained.

Upon his arrival at the island he found a small vessel under command of Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, that had been sent from Portugal to his assistance. The *Rainha* was lying a wreck on the coast of the mainland, having been driven from her anchors in a hurricane, but her cargo had previously been taken on shore. Two ships which the viceroy Dom Luis d'Ataide had sent from India with munitions of war, stores of different kinds, horses, and other animals for the use of the expedition, had just made their appearance. With these, however, Barreto received information that a powerful hostile force was besieging Chaul, so he called a council of his officers and put the question to them whether it would not be more advantageous to the king's service to defer the African conquest for a time, and proceed to the relief of that place. The council was of opinion that they should first force the enemy to raise the siege of Chaul, and then return and take possession of the gold mines, so preparations for that purpose were at once commenced.

Before Barreto could sail for Chaul, Dom Antonio de Noronha, the newly appointed viceroy of India from Cape Guardafui to Pegu, arrived at Mozambique with a fleet of five ships having on board two hundred soldiers to reinforce the African expedition. His appearance put a different aspect upon affairs. He was very ill when he reached the island, but after a few days he recovered sufficiently to be present at a general council, which was attended by a large number of officers of high rank and more than twenty fathers of the Society of Jesus and the order of Saint Dominic, when it was unanimously resolved that the African expedition should at once be proceeded with. With one exception, the members of the council were of opinion that Sofala should be made the base of operations, the father Francisco Monclaros alone holding that the route should be up the Zambesi to a certain point, and then straight to the mountain where the paramount chief of the Kalanga tribe resided, in order to punish that

despot for the murder of the missionary Dom Gonalo da Silveira.

Barreto accepted the decision of the majority of the council, and commenced to send his stores to Sofala in small vessels, but after a time his mind misgave him. He had been specially commanded by the king on all occasions of importance to follow the advice of Father Monclaros, who was in high favour at court. After another consultation with him, the captain general suddenly recalled the pangayos from Sofala, and in November 1571 left Mozambique for Sena with twenty-two vessels of different sizes conveying his army and stores. Two years and seven months had passed away since he sailed from Lisbon, many of the men who had embarked there in high hope of glory and wealth were no more, and most of those who remained alive were enfeebled by the long sojourn on that unhealthy coast. It is creditable to them that at last, when the time of action appeared to have arrived, they were still found eager to press forward.

On the way down the coast the flotilla put into several ports before reaching the Quilimane, where Barreto procured a number of luzios or large boats; but finding that mouth of the Zambesi not then navigable into the main stream, he proceeded to the Luabo. At Quilimane only two or three Portuguese were residing. The Bantu chief, whose name was Mongalo, had a distinct remembrance of Vasco da Gama's visit seventy-five years before.

Sixteen days were required to ascend the river from the bar of the Luabo to Sena. Sometimes the sails were set, at other times the vessels were towed by boats, and where the current was very strong warping was resorted to. Barreto resolved to make Sena his base of proceedings. Ten Portuguese traders were living there in wattled huts, but there was no fort or substantial building of any kind. The troops were landed, and were found to number over seven hundred arquebusiers, exclusive of officers, slaves, and camp attendants of every description. Their supply of provisions was ample. They had horses to draw the artillery and mount a respectable

company, a number of asses to carry skin water-bags, and some camels for heavy transport. As far as war material was concerned, the expedition was as well equipped as it could be. But this first campaign of Europeans against Bantu in Southern Africa was opened under exceptional difficulties, for the locality was the sickly Zambesi valley, and the time was the hottest of the year.

Agents were at once sent out to purchase oxen, and the work of building a fort was commenced without delay. Stone for the purpose was drawn to the site selected by cattle trained to the yoke, the first ever so employed in South Africa, which caused great astonishment to the Bantu spectators. The beginning of trouble was occasioned by thirst. The river, owing to heavy falls of rain along its upper course, was so muddy and dirty that its water could not be used without letting it settle, and the only vessels available for this purpose were a few calabashes. Then sickness broke out, and men, horses, and oxen began to die, owing, as the captain general supposed, to the impurities which they drank. Father Monclaros, however, was of a different opinion. He believed that the Mohamedans who resided at Sena were poisoning the grass to cause the animals to perish, and were even practising the same malevolence towards the men, when opportunities occurred, by putting some deadly substance secretly in the food. He urged Barreto to expel them, who declined to do so, and to ascertain whether purer water could not be obtained, caused a well to be dug. The excavation was made, and stone was being brought to build a wall round it, when one Manhoesa, a man of mixed Arab and Bantu blood, went to Barreto privately and told him that there was a plot to put poison in it.

The Mohamedan residents of the place were traders who purchased goods from the Portuguese and paid for them in gold and ivory. Some of them owned many slaves, whom they employed as carriers in their bartering expeditions and agents in pushing their traffic far into the interior. They were governed by their own sheik, and were quite inde-

pendent of other control. Most of them could speak the Portuguese language sufficiently well to be understood, and after the expedition arrived professed to entertain friendship for the members of it, though at heart it was impossible for the two races at that time to be really well disposed towards each other. Apart from the wide gulf which religion caused, the Christians had come to destroy the commerce with the Bantu by which these mongrel Arabs lived, how could there then be friendship between them?

Barreto believed Manhoesa's statement, and caused the well to be filled up. The horses were now dying off at an alarming rate,—just as would happen to-day, for in that locality they cannot long exist,—and upon the bodies being opened, the appearance of the lungs convinced the Portuguese that they had been poisoned. The grooms were arrested, and as they protested that they were innocent, the captain general commanded them to be put to the torture. Under this ordeal some of them declared that they had been bribed by a Moorish priest to kill the horses, and that he had supplied them with poison for the purpose.

Upon this evidence Barreto ordered his soldiers to attack the Mohamedans suddenly and put them to the sword. The country around was thereupon scoured to a considerable distance, and all the adult males were killed except seventeen, who were brought to the camp as prisoners. Their property of every kind was seized, most of which was divided among the soldiers as booty, though gold to the value of over 6700*l.* was reserved for the service of the king. The prisoners were tried, and were sentenced to death. They were exhorted to embrace Christianity, in order to save their souls, but all rejected the proposal except one, who was baptized with the name Lourenço, and was accompanied to the scaffold by a priest carrying a crucifix. This one was hanged, some were impaled, some were blown from the mouths of mortars, and the others were put to death in various ways with exquisite torture. Of the whole adult male Mohamedan population of Sena and its neighbourhood only Manhoesa was left alive.

Such dreadful barbarity inflicted upon people innocent of the crime with which they were charged was regarded by Father Monclaros as a simple act of justice, and he recorded the horrible event without the slightest recognition of the infamy attached to it.

Shortly after he reached Sena Barreto sent Miguel Bernardes, an old resident in the country, to the Monomotapa; but he was drowned on the way by the overturning of his canoe in the river. Another was then despatched on the same errand. A messenger went in advance to ascertain whether he would be received in a manner becoming the representative of the king of Portugal, because in that capacity he would not be at liberty to lay aside his arms, to prostrate himself upon the ground, and to kneel when addressing the chief, as was the ordinary custom when natives or strangers presented themselves. Some Mohamedans were at the great place when the messenger arrived, and they tried to induce the Monomotapa not to see the envoy except in the usual manner. They informed him that the Portuguese were powerful sorcerers, who, if permitted to have their own way, might bewitch and even kill him by their glances and their words. The chief was alarmed by their statements and therefore hesitated for some days, but in the end he promised that the envoy might present himself in the Portuguese manner, and would be received with friendship.

Barreto's agent then proceeded to the Monomotapa's kraal. He had several attendants with him, and before him went servants carrying a chair and a carpet. The carpet was spread on the ground in front of the place where the Monomotapa was reclining with his councillors and great men half surrounding him, the chair was placed upon it, and the Portuguese official, richly dressed and armed, took his seat in it, his attendants, also armed, standing on each side and at his back. The European subordinate and the greatest of all the South African chiefs were there in conference, and the European, by virtue of his blood, assumed and was conceded the higher position of the two.

After some complimentary remarks from each, the envoy, through his interpreter, introduced the subject of his mission, which he said was to obtain the grant of a right of way to the gold mines of Manika and Butua, and to form an alliance against the chief Mongasi—(variously written by the Portuguese Omigos, Mongas, and Monge),—the hereditary enemy of the Makalanga. The real object of Barreto's expedition, the seizure of the gold mines in the Kalanga country itself, was kept concealed. The Monomotapa, as a matter of course, was charmed with the proposal of assistance against his enemy. The tribe of which Mongasi was the head occupied the right bank of the Zambesi at and above the Lupata gorge, and during several preceding years had committed great ravages upon its neighbours. Its territory was small compared with that over which the Kalanga clans were spread, but its men were brave and fond of war, and to the Portuguese it was not certain which of the two was really the more powerful, Mongasi or the Monomotapa himself. The condition of things indeed was somewhat similar to that in the same country three centuries later, except that Mongasi and his fighting men were in power far below Lobengula and the Matabele bands. The chief had given the Portuguese cause for enmity by robbing and killing several traders, and on one occasion sending a party to Tete who, finding no white men there at the time, murdered about seventy of their female slaves and children.

The Monomotapa was so pleased that he readily agreed to everything that the envoy proposed. He offered to send a great army to assist against Mongasi, and he said that a way through his territory to the mines beyond would be open to the Portuguese at all times. This was very satisfactory from Barreto's point of view, though he did not avail himself of the offer of assistance, as he wished to avoid any complications that might arise from it.

After a detention of seven months at Sena, the return of the envoy enabled the captain general to proceed towards his destination. The fort which he had nearly completed,

named São Marçal, gave the Portuguese at least one strong position on the great river, though the country about it was not subdued, and the Bantu were left in absolute independence there. He had lost by fever at that unhealthy place a great many of those who had accompanied him from Portugal with such high hope, among them his own son Ruy Nunes Barreto, and of the men who were left some were barely able to walk. At the end of July 1572 he set out. A flotilla of boats containing provisions and stores of all kinds ascended the river, and along the bank marched the army accompanied by twenty-five waggons drawn by oxen, and the camels, asses, and a few horses that had recently arrived from India. The troops, about six hundred and fifty in number, including eighty Indians and mixed breeds, were divided into five companies, commanded respectively by Barreto himself, Antonio de Mello, Thomé de Sousa, Jeronymo d'Aguiar, and Jeronymo d'Andrada. Vasco Fernandes Homem, who had the rank of colonel, filled an office corresponding to that of quarter master general. Over two thousand slaves and camp attendants were with the army.

A whole month was occupied in marching from Sena to the confluence of the Mazoe and the Zambesi above the Lupata gorge. Frequently a soldier became too ill to walk, and he was then placed on a waggon until nightfall, when the camp was pitched on the margin of the river and he was transferred to one of the boats. The expedition was now to ascend the Mazoe to Mongasi's great place, so near its mouth Barreto formed a camp on a small island, and left there his sick with the boats and all the superfluous baggage and stores, for there was no possibility of proceeding with a heavily encumbered column. An officer named Ruy de Mello, who had been wounded by a buffalo, was placed in charge of this camp. On the northern, or Bororo side of the Zambesi, there was a tribe of considerable strength living under a chief named Tshombe, who was an enemy of Mongasi and therefore as soon as he ascertained the object of the expedition professed to be a friend of the Portuguese. He supplied

two hundred men to assist in carrying the baggage and to act as guides.

With his force now reduced to five hundred and sixty arquebusiers, twenty-three horsemen, and a few gunners with five or six pieces of artillery, Barreto turned away almost due south from the Zambesi. In this direction the column marched ten days, the men and animals suffering greatly at times from want of water. How the slaves and camp attendants fared is not mentioned by either De Couto or Father Monclaros, but the soldiers lived chiefly on scanty rations of beef, which they grilled on embers or by holding it on rods before a fire, though often they were so exhausted with the heat and fatigue that they were unable to eat anything at all. Their spirits revived, however, when on the eleventh day they came in sight of Mongasi's army, which was so large that the hillsides and valleys looked black with men.

Barreto immediately arranged his soldiers in a strong position resting on a hill, and awaited an attack, but none was made that day. All night the troops were under arms, getting what sleep they could without moving from their places, but that was little, for the natives at no great distance were shouting continuously and making a great noise with their war-drums. At dawn the sergeant-major, Pedro de Castro, was sent out with eighty picked men to try and draw the enemy on. This manœuvre succeeded. The natives rushed forward in a dense mass, led by an old female witchfinder with a calabash full of charms, which she threw into the air in the belief that they would cause the Portuguese to become blind and palsied. So implicitly did the warriors of Mongasi rely upon these charms, that they carried riems to bind the Europeans who should not be killed. Barreto ordered one of his best shots to try to pick the old sorceress off, and she fell dead under his fire. The natives, who believed that she was immortal, were checked for an instant, but presently brandishing their weapons with great shouts, they came charging on.

Then, with a cry of São Thiago from the Portuguese, a storm of balls from cannons and arquebuses and unwieldy firelocks was poured into the dense mass, which was shattered and broken. Barreto now in his turn charged, when the enemy took to flight, but in the pursuit several Portuguese were wounded with arrows. Fearing that his men might get scattered, the general caused the recall to be sounded almost at once, so that within a few minutes from its commencement the action was over.

The horsemen were then sent out to inspect the country in front. They returned presently with intelligence that there was a large kraal close by, belonging to Kapote, one of Mongasi's sub-chiefs, so the general resolved to set it on fire as soon as the men were a little rested and had broken their fast. About ten o'clock the expedition reached the kraal, which was nearly surrounded by patches of forest, and it was burned, but immediately afterwards the natives were seen approaching. There was just time to form a kind of breast-work at the sides of the field guns with stakes and bushes when Mongasi's army, arranged in the form of a crescent with its horns extended to surround the position, was upon the invading band. It was received as before with a heavy fire, which was kept back until the leading rank was within a few feet, and which struck down the files far towards the rear. The smoke which rolled over the Europeans and hid them from sight was regarded by the Bantu with superstitious fear, it seemed to them as if their opponents were under supernatural protection, and so they fled once more. They were followed some distance, and a great many were killed, among whom was the chief Kapote, but the Portuguese also suffered severely in the pursuit, for when Barreto's force came together again it was found that more than sixty men were wounded, some indeed only slightly but not a few mortally, and two were dead. Of the enemy it was believed that over six thousand had perished since dawn that morning, though very probably this estimate was much in excess of the actual number.

The progress of the expedition was now delayed by the necessity of establishing a hospital. Fortunately the site of the captured kraal was a good one, and water was plentiful close by. But at daylight on the sixth day after their arrival the natives attacked them again. On this occasion the Europeans were protected with palisades, which the Bantu were unable to pass, though they continued their efforts to force an entrance until an hour after noon. Their losses under these circumstances must have been very heavy, and they were so disheartened that they accepted their defeat as decisive and sent a messenger to beg for peace.

Barretq's position at this time was one of great difficulty. He was encumbered with sick and wounded men, the objective point of his expedition was far away, his supply of ammunition was small, and his slaughter cattle were reduced to a very limited number. Yet he spoke to Mongasi's messenger in a haughty tone, and replied that he would think over the matter: the chief might send again after a couple of days, and he would then decide. A present of fifty head of cattle and as many sheep, a little gold, and a couple of tusks of ivory, was sent to him, and he gave in return some iron hoes, but no terms of peace were arranged. The animals were of the greatest service, so small was his stock of food.

In less than a week from this time a council of war was held, when there was but one opinion, that the only hope of safety was in retreating without delay. The expedition therefore turned back towards the Zambesi, and so great were the sufferings of the men for want of food on the way that they searched for roots and wild plants to keep them alive. At length, at the end of September, the bank of the river was reached, and a canoe was obtained, with which a letter was sent to Ruy de Mello, who was in command of the camp on the island. That officer immediately despatched six boat loads of millet and other provisions, and thus the exhausted soldiers and camp attendants were saved. They had not penetrated the country farther than forty-five miles in a straight line from the river.

There were more than two hundred men either wounded or too ill to be of any service, and the losses by death had been large, so Barreto resolved to return to Sena, where a reinforcement of eighty soldiers who had recently arrived was awaiting him. The sick were sent down the river in boats after the remainder of the expedition had crossed to the Bororo side with the animals and baggage, and the waggons, now useless, had been burned. On the march provisions were obtained from the natives, who were subjects of Tshombe, and two kraals hostile to that chief were destroyed.

A few days after crossing the river Barreto received information that his presence was urgently needed at Mozambique. When he sailed from that island he left there as captain a man eighty years of age, named Antonio Pereira Brandão, and assigned to Lourenço Godinho the office of factor. Brandão was under the deepest obligation to him. In the Maluccas he had committed crimes for which he was tried and condemned to confiscation of all his property and banishment to Africa for life. He threw himself upon the compassion of Barreto, who obtained permission from the king to take him with the expedition, and made him captain of Mozambique purposely that he might acquire some property to bestow upon his daughter. In return he acted with such treachery towards his benefactor that he planned the detention of supplies forwarded from Goa, in order to ruin him.

Upon learning this Barreto left Vasco Fernandes Homem in command of the retreating force, and proceeded down the river in a luzio. At Sena he found an embassy from the Monomotapa, who brought a message expressing good will and desiring friendship with the king of Portugal and commerce with the white people. The captain general mentioned three conditions as requisite to a compact between them: first that the Mohamedans should be expelled from the country, secondly that Christian missionaries should be received, and thirdly that a number of gold mines should be ceded. He added that if these conditions were agreed to, upon his return from Mozambique he would deal with other

obstacles in the way of friendly commerce as he had dealt with Mongasi. The principal man in the embassy replied that the conditions were acceptable, and it was then arranged that some Portuguese should return with the party to learn from the Monomotapa himself whether he would agree to them.

For this purpose Barreto appointed three gentlemen named Francisco de Magalhães, Francisco Rafaxo, and Gaspar Borges, whom he sent in company with the Kalanga embassy on its return home with a valuable present of cloth and other articles to the Monomotapa. It was afterwards learned that Francisco de Magalhães died on the journey, and that the two others were very well received. The Monomotapa, as was natural under the circumstances, was profuse in friendly sentiments. He promised to expel the Mohamedans from his country, to receive Christian missionaries with friendship, and to give some gold mines to the Portuguese to work; but probably he had no intention of literally carrying out the first and the last of these concessions. He sent back a present of gold, though it was of trifling value compared with what he had received.

As soon as the remnant of the army reached Sena the captain general instructed Vasco Fernandes Homem to complete the construction of Fort São Marçal and the necessary buildings connected with it, and then with Father Monclaros and a few attendants he proceeded to the mouth of the Luabo and embarked in a pangayo for Mozambique. Shortly after his arrival at that island a ship arrived from India with stores for the expedition, and in her came João da Silva, a natural son of Barreto, who delivered to his father a number of defamatory letters which Antonio Pereira Brandão had written concerning him to the king, and which Dom Jorge de Menezes, his relative by marriage, had intercepted. With this new proof of Brandão's treachery in his possession the captain general dismissed him from office, but was too generous to punish him further. Lourenço Godinho was appointed captain of Mozambique in his stead.

With his son, all the recruits he could obtain, a good supply of ammunition and other material of war, and a large quantity of calico with which to purchase provisions and meet other expenses, on the 3rd of March 1573 Francisco Barreto sailed again from Mozambique with a fleet of pangayos, intending to invade Manika from Sena. But misfortune still pursued him. Contrary winds were encountered, which compelled him to put into several ports, and two of the pangayos, laden with ammunition and provisions, were lost. At Quilimane intelligence was received of fearful mortality among the troops at Sena. The captains Jeronymo d'Aguiar and Antonio de Mello with all the inferior officers of the several companies and most of the soldiers had died, and Vasco Fernandes Homem and the Jesuit fathers were very ill. All hope of being able to invade Manika was thus lost, but Barreto felt that it would be disgraceful to abandon his people in such a time of distress, and so he pressed forward. On the 1st of May he left the mouth of the river, and on the 15th arrived at Sena.

At the landing place about fifty soldiers, all that were able to stand, were waiting to receive him with banners displayed, but there was not an officer with them until Vasco Fernandes Homem was brought down in a state of great debility. The captain general and the priest passed on to the hospital, where the sick tried to welcome them, but only one man was able to discharge an arquebus. The sole remaining physician was dying. It was a pitiful sight, this terrible end of an expedition entered upon with such enthusiasm and such unbounded hope of success.

Some of the sick improved in health owing to the medical comforts Barreto had brought with him, but the whole of the recruits just arrived were struck down almost at once. The captain general, eight days after he reached Sena, had an angry altercation with Father Monclaros, in which the priest reproached him for not having abandoned the enterprise long before and told him that God would bring him to account for all the lives lost. Immediately after this the unfortunate

commander took to his bed, and after a brief period of exhaustion died in great distress of mind, though apparently free of fever. In India and in his native country he had been regarded as a man of high ability, but South Africa destroyed his reputation, like that of many others since. He was buried in the newly erected church within the fort São Marçal, but his remains and those of his son Ruy Nunes Barreto were subsequently removed to Portugal, where by order of the king a pompous state funeral was accorded to them. His natural son, João da Silva, was taken by his servants from Sena to Mozambique, prostrate with illness, and died there. He had been wealthy, but his father had borrowed all he possessed for the use of the army, as he had done from many others, so that Francisco Barreto's executors found that he not only left no property, but that he was responsible for a hundred and twenty thousand cruzados (57,140*l.*) thus raised.

Upon opening the first of the sealed orders of succession which had been given by the king to the late captain general, the name of Pedro Barreto was found; but he had long been dead. The second order of succession was then opened, which contained the name of Vasco Fernandes Homem, who thereupon assumed the title of governor and captain general of the African coast from Cape Guardafui to Cape Correntes. Acting upon the advice of Father Monclaros, the new governor retired to Mozambique as speedily as possible, taking with him all the material of war and men except sufficient for a small garrison that he left in Fort São Marçal at Sena.

Shortly after he reached the island, an officer named Francisco Pinto Pimentel, who was his cousin, arrived there from India on his way home. This officer expressed the utmost astonishment at his having abandoned an enterprise which the king had resolved should be carried out, and for which reinforcements were even then being sent from Portugal. In his opinion it was gross dereliction of duty, and he reminded his relative that a high official had not long before

lost his head for an act which might be regarded as similar. The advice of Father Monclaros, he said, would not serve as an excuse, because a priest could not be supposed to be a guide in military matters. The father had already embarked in a ship returning to Lisbon, so Pimentel's reasoning was not counteracted by his influence.

The captain general therefore resolved to resume the effort to get possession of the gold mines, and to make his base of operations the port that had been recommended by the council of officers and clergy in 1571. As many recruits as could be obtained from ships that called were added to the remnant of Barreto's force and the fresh soldiers just arrived from Europe, a flotilla of coasting vessels was collected, provisions were procured, and an army of some strength, well provided with munitions of war, was conveyed to Sofala. The date of its arrival cannot be given, as no Portuguese chronicler or historian mentions it, and the original manuscript of Father Monclaros terminates with the death of Francisco Barreto. The Kiteve and Tshikanga tribes were found to be at variance with each other, a circumstance that was favourable to the captain general's views. As soon as his soldiers were on shore, who mustered five hundred in number, exclusive of attendants and camp followers, he sent presents to the Kiteve chief, and requested a free passage to the Tshikanga territory, but met with a refusal. The Bantu rulers always objected to intercourse between white people and the tribes beyond their own, because they feared to lose their toll on the commerce which passed through their territories, and they were also apprehensive of strangers forming an alliance with their enemies.

Homem made no scruple in marching forward without the chief's permission, and when the Kiteves attempted to oppose him with arms, a discharge of his artillery and arquebuses immediately scattered them. They had not the mettle of the gallant warriors of Mongasi. After several defeats the whole tribe fled into a rugged tract of country, taking their cattle with them, and leaving no grain that the invaders could find.

Homem marched on to their zimbabwe, which consisted of thatched huts, to which he set fire. Two days later he reached Tshikanga's territory. There he met men bringing a present from the chief, who was delighted at the overthrow of his enemy, and who gave him a warm welcome.

The Portuguese force went on to the great place, where a camp was formed, the utmost good feeling being shown on both sides. After a short rest Homem and some of his principal men visited the mines, but were greatly disappointed. They had expected to find the precious metal in such abundance that they could take away loads of it, instead of which a number of naked blacks carrying baskets of earth from a deep cavity were seen, with some others washing the earth in wooden troughs and after long and patient toil extracting a few grains of gold. They at once concluded that it could be of no advantage for them to hold the country. An agreement was therefore made with the Tshikanga chief that he should do everything in his power to facilitate commerce with his people, and for that purpose should allow Portuguese traders or their agents to enter his country at any time, in return for which the captain of the fort of Sofala was to make him a yearly present of two hundred rolls of cotton cloth.

The expedition went no farther in the Manika country, the point reached being the place now known as Masikesi, or somewhere near it. As soon as his people were refreshed, Homem set out again for the coast, without attempting to penetrate to the territory of the Monomotapa. On the way messengers from the Kiteve chief met him, and begged for peace, so an agreement was made with them similar in terms to the one concluded with the owner of Manika.

It was at this time believed that silver was plentiful somewhere on the southern bank of the Zambesi above Tete,—the exact locality was uncertain,—and as the native tribes in that direction were too weak to offer much resistance, the captain general resolved to go in search of it and endeavour to retrieve the pecuniary losses he and his predecessor had

sustained. Accordingly he proceeded by sea from Sofala to the Zambesi, and having ascended that river to Sena he disembarked and marched upward along it. At first the natives were friendly and he had no difficulty in adding to his supply of provisions, but after a time he found that as he advanced they abandoned their kraals and fled, so he built a fort of wood and earth, in which he stationed a garrison of two hundred men under Antonio Cardoso d'Almeida, and with the remainder of the force he returned to Mozambique.

The natives now went back to their kraals, but kept away from the fort. After a time provisions began to fail, so D'Almeida sent out a raiding party that secured a quantity of millet and a few cattle. Some of the natives after this asked for peace, and terms were agreed upon, but when a band of soldiers left the fort to explore the country, it was attacked, and only a few men got back again. The place was then surrounded, and the siege was maintained until the provisions were exhausted, when the Portuguese tried to cut their way out, but were all killed.

Thus ended the expeditions under Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem, undertaken to get possession of the mineral wealth of South-Eastern Africa. Nothing more disastrous had happened to the Portuguese since their first appearance in Indian waters. The original army and all the reinforcements sent from Lisbon had perished, excepting a few score of worn out and fever stricken men who reached Mozambique in the last stage of despondency. To compensate for the large expenditure that had been incurred, there was nothing more than the fort São Marçal at Sena and the few buildings within it. The extent of the disaster was realised by the king, and after a short and uneventful term of office by Dom Fernando de Monroy, who succeeded Vasco Fernandes Homem, an end was put to the captain generalship of Eastern Africa, which thereupon reverted to its former position as a dependency of the viceroyalty of India.

II.

EVENTS TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

ON the 4th of August 1578 the great tragedy took place of the death of King Sebastião in battle with the Moors of Northern Africa, and the total destruction of the army which he commanded in person, the entire force of Portugal. At once the little kingdom lost the proud position she had occupied among the nations of Europe, and thereafter was regarded as of trifling importance. The country had been drained of men, and was completely exhausted. It must be remembered that she never was in as favourable a condition for conducting enterprises requiring large numbers of sailors and soldiers as the Netherlands were at a later date. She had no great reservoir of thews and muscles to draw from as Holland had in the German states. Spain was behind her, as the German states were behind the Netherlands, but Spain found employment for all her sons in Mexico and Peru. Portugal had to depend upon her own people. She was colonising Brazil and Madeira too, and occupying forts and factories on the western coast of Africa as well as on the shores of the eastern seas. Of the hosts of men—the very best of her blood—that went to India and Africa, few ever returned. They perished of fevers or other diseases, or they lost their lives in wars and shipwrecks, or they made homes for themselves far from their native land.

To procure labourers to till the soil of her southern provinces slaves were introduced from Africa. In 1441 Antão Gonçalves and Nuno Tristão brought the first home with them, and then the doom of the kingdom was sealed. No

other Europeans have ever treated negroes so mildly as the Portuguese, or been so ready to mix with them on equal terms. But even in Estremadura, Alemtejo, and the Algarves it was impossible for the European without losing self respect to labour side by side with the African, and so all of the most enterprising of the peasant class moved away. The slaves, on embracing Christianity, had various privileges conferred upon them, and their blood became mixed with that of the least energetic of the peasantry, until a new and degenerate stock, frivolous, inconstant, incapable of improvement, was formed. In the northern provinces Entre Douro e Minho and Tras os Montes a pure European race remained, fit not only to conquer, but to hold dominion in distant lands, though too small in proportion to the entire population of the country to control its destinies. There to the present day are to be met men capable of doing anything that other Europeans can do, but to find the true descendants of the Portuguese heroes of the sixteenth century, one must not look among the lower classes of the southern and larger part of the country now.

Further, corruption of the grossest kind was prevalent in the administration everywhere. The great offices, including the captaincies of the factories and forts in the distant dependencies, were purchased from the favourites of the king, though they were said to be granted on account of meritorious services. Reversions were secured in advance, often several in succession, and there were even instances of individuals acquiring the reversion of captaincies for unnamed persons. Such offices were held for three years, and the men who obtained them did their utmost to make fortunes within that period. They were like the Monomotapa of the Kalanga tribe, no one could approach them to ask a favour or to conduct business without a bribe in his hand, every commercial transaction paid them a toll. They had not yet sunk in the deep sloth that characterised them at a later date, but they lived in a style of luxury undreamed of in earlier days.

The exact manner in which Dom Sebastião met his death was never known. Many of the common people refused to believe that he had been slain: he was hidden away, they asserted, and in God's good time would return and restore the kingdom to its former glory. Many generations passed away before this strange conviction ceased to be held, and all the time, in expectation of some great supernatural occurrence in their favour, the nation allowed matters to take their course without making a supreme effort to rectify them. The cardinal Dom Henrique, an imbecile old man, ascended the throne, but he died on the 31st of January 1580, and with him the famous dynasty of Avis, that had ruled Portugal so long and so gloriously, became extinct in the direct male line.

The duchess of Bragança as the nearest heir in blood might have succeeded, her title being unquestionably clear, but the spirit of the nation was gone, and the duke, her husband, did not choose to maintain her right against Philippe II of Spain, who based his pretensions to the Portuguese throne on his being descended on his mother's side from a younger branch of the late royal family. Dom Antonio, prior of Crato, an illegitimate son of the duke of Beja, second son of Manuel the Fortunate, however, seized the vacant crown, but in April 1581, as the whole people did not rally round him, was easily expelled by a Spanish army commanded by the duke of Alva. Philippe II then added Portugal to his dominions, nominally as an independent kingdom with all its governmental machinery intact as before, really as a subordinate country, whose remaining resources, such as they were, he drew upon for his wars in the Netherlands. To outward appearance the little state might seem to occupy a more impregnable position after such a close union with her powerful neighbour, but it was not so in reality. The enemies of Spain now became her enemies also, her factories and fleets were exposed to attack, and she received no assistance in defending them. The period of her greatness had for ever passed away.

The establishment of missions among the Bantu by the Dominicans was the most important occurrence in South-Eastern Africa at this period. In 1577 Dom Luis d'Ataide, when on his way to Goa to assume duty as viceroy, found at Mozambique two friars of this order, named Jeronymo de Couto and Pedro Usus Maris, who had come from India and were preparing to proceed to Madagascar to labour among the natives of that island. The viceroy induced them to remain where they were, and provided them with means to build a convent, in which six or seven of the brethren afterwards usually resided. This was the centre from which their missions were gradually extended in Eastern Africa. South of the Zambesi, Sofala, Sena, and Tete were occupied within the next few years.

The missionaries found the Europeans and mixed breeds at these places without the ministrations of chaplains, and sadly ignorant in matters spiritual. In the church within the fortress at Sena, for instance, the friars were shocked to see a picture of the Roman matron Lucretia, which had been suspended over a shrine in the belief that it was a portrait of Saint Catherine, and they observed with much surprise that no one made any distinction between fast and feast days.

They turned their attention therefore first to the nominal Christians, and succeeded in effecting some improvement in the condition of that class of the inhabitants, most of whom, however, continued to live in a way that ministers of religion could not approve of. They next applied themselves to the conversion of the Bantu, but did not meet with the success which they hoped for, though they baptized a good many individuals. It was hardly possible for them to make converts except among those who lived about the forts as dependents of the white people, and who were certainly not the best specimens of their race. The condition of the tribes was then such that anything like improvement was well nigh impossible. Wars and raids were constant, for an individual to abandon the faith and customs of his forefathers was regarded as

treason to his chief, and sensuality had attractions too strong to be set aside. Away from the forts the missionaries were compelled to endure hardships and privations of every kind, hunger, thirst, exposure to heat, fatigue, and fever; but the initial part of their duty, as they understood it, was to suffer without complaint.

In 1585 Dom João Gayo Ribeiro, bishop of Malacca, wrote to the cardinal archduke Albert of Austria, who then governed Portugal for the king, requesting him to obtain a reinforcement of missionaries for the islands of Solor and Timur, where Christianity was believed to be making rapid progress. He addressed a similar letter to the provincial of the Dominicans, and this, when made public, created such enthusiasm that a considerable number of friars at once volunteered for service in India. Among them was one named João dos Santos, to whom we are indebted for a minute and excellent account of South-Eastern Africa and its people. Dos Santos sailed from Lisbon with thirteen others of the same order on the 13th of April 1586, and on the 13th of August of that year reached Mozambique, where he received instructions from his superior to proceed to Sofala to assist the friar João Madeira, who was stationed there. Accordingly he set out in the first pangayo that sailed, and after touching at the islands of Angosha and the rivers Quilimane, Old Cuama, and Luabo on the way, reached his destination on the 5th of December. Two others of the party, the friars Jeronymo Lopes and João Frausto, went to Sena and Tete, where they remained three years and a half. When Dos Santos took up his abode at Sofala Garcia de Mello was captain of the station, subject to the control of the captain of Mozambique.

The fort built by Pedro d'Anaya had before this time been reconstructed of stone, and nothing of the original walls remained, but the tower erected by Manuel Fernandes was still standing. The form of the first structure—that of a square—was preserved, and a circular bastion had been added at each of the corners. The buildings within the walls were a church, warehouses to contain goods and stores, offices, and

residences for all the officials and people engaged in trade. There was also a large cistern in which rain was collected, as the water obtained in wells was not considered good. With the exception of a bombardier, a master gunner, and six assistants, the fort was without other garrison than the European residents of the place and their servants.

Close by was a village containing six hundred inhabitants professing Christianity. These were mixed breeds and negro slaves or others employed by the Portuguese, who in case of necessity would have been called upon to assist in defending the station. In this village there was a chapel, and while Dos Santos resided there a second place of devotion was built in it, as well as another some distance outside. The friar himself went with a party of men to an island in the Pungwe river to cut the timber needed in their construction and to repair and strengthen the church within the fort. The dwelling houses in the village were tiny structures of wattles and mud covered with thatch, not much larger or better than the huts of Bantu.

Farther away was a hamlet occupied by about a hundred Mohamedans, very poor and humble, the descendants of those who had acknowledged Isuf as their lord. There was still one among them termed a sheik, but he was without any real authority. So entirely dependent were these Mohamedans upon the Portuguese, and so subject to control, that they were obliged to pay tithes of their garden produce to the Dominican fathers, just as the residents in the neighbouring Christian village. A few individuals of their creed were scattered about the country, but all were in the same abject condition as those at Sofala.

The gardens cultivated by the inhabitants produced a variety of vegetables, such as yams, sweet potatoes, cabbages, melons, cucumbers, beans, and onions, in addition to millet, rice, sugar canes, and sesame, the last of which was grown to express the oil. Sugar was not made, but the juicy pith of the cane was esteemed as an article of diet. Fruit too was plentiful. The most common kinds were pomegranates.

oranges, limes, pineapples, bananas—usually called Indian figs,—and cocoa nuts. There were even groves of lime trees that had been allowed to become wild, the fruit of which any one who chose could gather. The principal flesh consumed by the Europeans was that of barnyard poultry, as in some parts of South-Eastern Africa at the present day, although horned cattle, goats, and pigs were plentiful. Venison of various kinds was abundant, and fish of good quality was always obtainable. Everything here enumerated could be had at trifling cost in barter for beads and squares of calico, which were used instead of coin, so that the cost of living in a simple manner was very small; but wines and imported provisions were exceedingly dear. The matical of gold was the common standard of value in commercial transactions between Europeans.

Four leagues above the fort there was in the river an island named Maroupé, about eight leagues in length by a league and a half in breadth. The greater part of this island had been given by the Kiteve to a Portuguese named Rodrigo Lobo, whom he regarded as his particular friend. But it was in no way a dependency of the European establishment at the mouth of the stream, for Lobo, though he still maintained intercourse with his countrymen, ruled there as a vassal of the Bantu overlord, just as a Kalanga sub-chief would have done. He lived in a more luxurious style than any white man at Sofala, had a harem of native women, and was attended upon by numerous slaves. His descendants are to be found in the country at the present day, and still call themselves Portuguese, though they are not distinguishable from Bantu in features or colour.

Sofala was never visited now by a ship direct from Portugal or India, its imports coming from Mozambique and its exports going to that island. The coasting trade was carried on with pangayos and luzios manned by black men who claimed to be Mohamedans, but really knew and cared very little about religion, though they were excessively superstitious and paid much attention to forms. The master, a mate, and a super-

cargo were commonly the only Europeans on board, and it sometimes happened that even these were mixed breeds.

Every year the Kiteve sent to the fort at Sofala for the cloth that was due to him under the agreement made by Vasco Fernandes Homem. It consisted of two hundred rolls, not mere squares, for each piece was worth more than a cruzado. It was necessary also, in order to maintain friendship with the powerful chief, to make presents of beads and calico of some value to his messengers, as they were selected by him with that expectation. This made commerce within his territory free, but any one passing through it to that of his neighbour the Tshikanga, in order to trade there, was obliged to pay him one piece of cloth out of every twenty. There was almost constant war between the four independent Kalanga chiefs, the Monomotapa, Tshikanga, Kiteve, and Sedanda, which of course had a disturbing effect upon commerce.

Sena was at this time really a place of greater importance than Sofala, though it did not rank so high as a governmental station. The salaries paid to its officials amounted to little more than £500 a year, while those paid at Sofala exceeded £1100. This, however, gives nothing upon which to form an opinion of the value of an office at either place, as incomes were regarded as derivable from perquisites, not from pay. A few years later it was ascertained that one individual, whose salary during his term of office amounted to £850, had realised a fortune of not less than £57,000,—an enormous sum for that period. This was of course a very exceptional case, but probably there were few who did not in some way receive their nominal salaries many times over.

Sena was the emporium of the trade of the Zambesi basin. Goods were brought here from Mozambique and stored in the warehouse within the fort until they were sent up the river to Tete in luzios, or up the Shire to the head waters of navigation, thence to be conveyed by carriers in different directions, or to the territory of the Tshikanga to be bartered for gold. The fort was not yet fully completed, but several

pieces of artillery were mounted on its walls. It contained a church, the factory with its storehouses, the residences of the captain and other officials, and the public offices. No soldiers were maintained here, the resident Portuguese and their dependents being regarded as sufficiently strong to defend the place if it should be attacked. The officials were appointed by the captain of Mozambique. In the village just outside the fort there were about fifty Portuguese residents and over seven hundred and fifty Indians, mixed breeds, and blacks. At this time slaves were not exported from the Zambesi, but captives were purchased from tribes that were at war, and were kept for service at all the stations. The blacks residing at Sena were of this class.

Every three years an embassy from the Monomotapa visited Sena to receive calico and beads of the value of three thousand cruzados, which each captain of Mozambique on assuming office was obliged to pay for the privilege of trading in the great chief's territory during the term of his government. The embassy was conducted with much state, having at its head men of rank who acted in the capacities so well known to those who have dealings with Bantu, as eyes, ears, and mouth of the chief. A Portuguese returned with it, to deliver the calico and beads formally, so that everything might be carried out in a manner satisfactory to both parties. The Monomotapa had a very simple way of enforcing this payment. If it was not made when due he ordered an *empata*, that is a seizure and confiscation of everything belonging to Portuguese in his country, and stopped all commerce. The goods so seized were never restored, though trade was resumed when merchandise to the full value of three thousand cruzados was forwarded to him. This system prevented payment by promises or running up accounts, which might otherwise have come into practice.

Up at the terminus of the river navigation by the Portuguese, one hundred and eighty miles from Sena, on the Botonga or southern bank of the stream, on ground five hundred feet above the level of the sea, stood Tete, the base

of the trade with the interior. It contained a fort built of stone, with seven or eight pieces of artillery on its walls, which enclosed a chapel, dedicated to São Thiago, warehouses, offices, and other buildings. In the village adjoining it resided about forty Portuguese and some five hundred and fifty Indians, half breeds, and blacks professing Christianity, of the same class as those at Sofala and Sena. There was no garrison of soldiers, the fort being intended for the resident Europeans and their dependents to retire into in case of being attacked. The captain or head of the establishment was appointed by the captain of Mozambique and was subject to his authority.

Within a circuit of three or four leagues from Tete there were eleven kraals of Bantu, that could muster among them more than two thousand men capable of bearing arms. They had been conquered by the Monomotapa some time before, and by him presented to the captain of Tete, who acted as their supreme ruler. So perfectly subject were they to him that they brought all cases of importance to him to be tried, and he appointed their headmen and could call out their warriors for service whenever he chose. They were the only Bantu south of the Zambesi, except the slaves and servants of the Europeans at the different stations, who were under Portuguese authority.

From Tete goods were conveyed on the backs of native carriers who travelled in caravans to three stations in the Kalanga territory, named Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto, at each of which a Portuguese who had charge of the local barter resided with some assistants. The most important of these stations, or places of fairs as they were called, was Masapa, on the river Manzovo—now Mazoe,—about one hundred and fifty miles by footpath from Tete, and near the mountain Fura. The principal Portuguese resident at Masapa, though selected for the post by the European inhabitants of the country conjointly with the Kalanga ruler, held the office of chief under the Monomotapa, by whom he was vested with power, even of death, over the Bantu

residents at the station. No white man or native trader acting for one could pass Masapa without permission from the Portuguese chief or the Monomotapa himself, and the chief acted as agent for the Monomotapa in receiving and forwarding to him one-twentieth of all the goods brought into that part of the country to be bartered for gold and ivory. This appointment he held for life. So far he was simply a Kaffir chief, and his domestic establishment was that of one. But he was also a Portuguese official. He held a commission from the viceroy of India giving him considerable authority over the Portuguese who went to Masapa for purposes of trade, and he was the medium through whom all communications with the Monomotapa passed. He had the title of Capitão das Portas—Captain of the Gates,—on account of his peculiar position.

Luanze was about one hundred and five miles almost due south of Tete, between two rivulets which united below it and then flowed into the Mazoe. The principal Portuguese resident here was also a sub-chief of the Monomotapa, who placed the Bantu living at the station under his authority. He held a commission from the viceroy, making him head of the Portuguese frequenting the place; but he was not such an important personage as the Captain of the Gates.

Bukoto was about thirty miles from Masapa, thirty-nine from Luanze, and one hundred and twenty from Tete. It was situated just above the junction of two streamlets, and was the least important of the three places of fairs, with nothing particular to note about it. At none of them had the Portuguese any authority whatever over the natives except such as was derived from the Monomotapa, who permitted the trading stations to be established in his country on account of the benefit which he derived from them. By doing so he did not consider that he had diminished his right of sovereignty, and the exercise of authority by the captains over men of their own race, by virtue of power derived from the viceroy of India, was in full accordance with Bantu ideas of government being tribal rather than territorial.

The Monomotapa of the time when Dos Santos resided at Sofala, who bore also the title Mambo, was well disposed towards the Portuguese. He gave the Dominicans leave to establish missions in his country, and they had already put up little structures for places of prayer at Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto. They had not as yet, however, men to occupy these places permanently, but the friar who resided at Tete occasionally visited them. The white people never made a request from Mambo without accompanying it with a present—usually a piece of coloured calico—for himself and something of equal value for his principal wife, their special pleader, whose name was Ma Zarira. This was the custom of the country, for no native could obtain an audience unless he presented an ox, a goat, or something else according to his means.

In describing the country Dos Santos mentions several kingdoms bordering on the territory of the Monomotapa, but in reality these were nothing more than tracts of land inhabited by native tribes under independent chiefs. The kingdom of Sedanda was one of those which he named. This was the territory lying between Sofala and the Sabi river, occupied by a tribe of the same blood as the Makalanga, under a chief who bore the hereditary title of Sedanda. One of the Sedandas in Dos Santos' time committed suicide, on account of his being afflicted with leprosy. Of the region west of the Monomotapa's territory the Portuguese knew nothing except from vague native reports, for no one of them or of the wandering Mohamedans had ever visited it. It would be useless therefore to repeat the names of the so-called kingdoms given by the Dominican friar. Of the longitudes of places he had of course no knowledge. He believed Angola could not be very far distant, and he states that a blanket brought overland from that country by native traders was purchased by a Portuguese at Manika and shown to him at Sofala as a curiosity. It is just possible that the blanket was carried across the continent, but it is much more likely that the friar was deceived as to the place from which it came. At

that time the head waters of the Zambesi were quite unknown, though the Portuguese were fairly well acquainted with the principal features of the great lake region, through accounts obtained from Mohamedan traders as well as from natives. Owing to this circumstance their maps of East Central Africa were tolerably correct, while those of South Africa were utterly misleading.

Dos Santos states that copper and iron were plentiful in the country. The iron was regarded as of superior quality, so much so that a quantity was once sent to India to make guns of. Though the smelting furnaces were of the crudest description, implements of this metal manufactured by themselves were used by the Makalanga in great abundance, just as a few years ago among the Bapedi farther south, where waggon loads could be collected at a single kraal. He mentions also the manufacture by some of the natives of machiras, or loin cloths, from cotton which grew wild along the banks of the Zambesi.

As yet no attempt had been made to colonise any part of Africa south of the Zambesi on one coast and Benguela on the other. Commerce and the conversion of the heathen were the sole objects of the Portuguese who visited the country, and indeed they had no surplus population with which to form settlements in it. They did not touch at any part of the coast between Benguela and Delagoa Bay when they could avoid doing so, because there was no trade of any kind to be carried on there and because after the slaughter of Dom Francisco d'Almeida and his people on the shore of Table Bay the Hottentots were regarded as the most ferocious of savages, with whom it was well to have as little intercourse as possible. They would have been pleased had they found a port somewhere on the southern shore that their ships could have taken shelter in when returning from India to Lisbon during the time of the westerly gales, but they always tried to pass by in the summer season and to make the run from Mozambique to the island of Saint Helena without a break.

Some years before the arrival of Dos Santos at Sofala a dreadful wave of war and destruction rolled over the country north of the lower Zambesi. A horde of savages made their appearance from a distant part of the continent, probably—judging from the few words of their language that have been preserved—from some locality on or near the western coast, and laid the whole territory along their course utterly waste. Theirs was just such another march as that of the horde under Ma Ntati, which passed over the country from the upper Caledon to the border of the Kalahari desert in the early years of the nineteenth century, leaving nothing behind it, where a thickly populated land had been, but ashes and skeletons of men and animals. And just as the horde under Ma Ntati broke into fragments and perished, so did this which appeared on the Zambesi opposite Tete in 1570.

Finding that stream a barrier which it could not cross intact, one large section turned to the north-east, and finally reached the shore of the Indian sea, along which it committed the most frightful ravages. The island of Mozambique could not be attacked, but its inhabitants suffered severely from the famine caused by the devastation of the mainland. A body of about forty Portuguese, under the captain Nuno Velho Pereira, with as many slaves as could be collected, endeavoured to protect the plantations at Cabaceira, but nearly the whole of them perished in the attempt, and their bodies were eaten by the savages on the shore. Only Nuno Velho Pereira and two or three other Europeans managed to escape. Thus the greater number of the inhabitants of the island were cut off, and those who remained were in the direst straits for want of food until supplies reached them by sea. This happened in the year 1585. What remained of ancient Kilwa was wiped out of existence, Mombasa was nearly destroyed, and the progress of the cannibal horde was only stopped at Melinde, where Mattheus Mendes de Vasconcellos, head of the factory, with thirty Portuguese, and three thousand Bantu warriors aided the Mohamedan ruler in inflicting a defeat upon them in which they were nearly exterminated.

Shortly after the first appearance of the great horde on the Bororo or northern bank of the Zambesi, a small party managed to cross the river, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Tete, but Jeronymo d'Andrade, captain of that station, had no difficulty in driving them back, as the savages were so amazed at the effects of the fire from a few arquebuses, which they attributed to witchcraft, that they fled without resistance.

Not long after this event another and much larger band, consisting of ten or twelve thousand men under a chief named Sonza, by some means got across the river, and attacked a clan that was friendly to the Portuguese, killing every living thing and destroying whatever they came across. Jeronymo d'Andrade got together a force of about a hundred Portuguese, and with some four thousand Batonga allies took the field against Sonza. On his approach some of the invaders constructed a rough lager or enclosure of bushes and earth, within which they attempted to defend themselves, but as they were still exposed to the fire of arquebuses they were speedily driven out and dispersed. They and the others of their party were then hunted until it was believed about five thousand had been killed. The remainder of the band escaped, and joined the horde that was laying waste the country towards the coast of Mozambique.

In 1592 two sections of these savages remained on the northern bank of the lower Zambesi. One was called by the Portuguese the Mumbos, the other was the far-dreaded Mazimba. Dos Santos says that both were cannibals, and there is no reason to doubt his assertion, for traditions concerning the Mazimba are still current all over Southern Africa, in which they are represented as ogres or inhuman monsters, and their name is used generally to imply eaters of human flesh. But in all probability they had adopted that custom from want of other food, and would have abandoned it gradually if they had obtained domestic cattle and could have cultivated gardens. The men were much stronger and more robust than Makalanga. They carried immense shields

made of ox hide, and were variously armed with assagais, battle-axes, and bows and arrows.

One of the chiefs of the Mumbos, named Kwizura, with about six hundred warriors, attacked a clan friendly to the Portuguese at Tshikarongo, north of the Zambesi, ten leagues from Tete. The clan fled after sustaining severe losses, and applied to Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, captain of Tete, for assistance. The captain thereupon summoned his eleven sub-chiefs, who at once joined him with their men, and with these and the resident Portuguese he crossed the river and marched against Kwizura, who was found in a chumbo or lager of stakes and earth which he had constructed. Together with the followers of the dispossessed chief the attacking force was so strong that it was able to surround the chumbo and storm it, when Kwizura and every one of his warriors fell. The courtyard of the hut in which the Mumbo chief had lived was found paved with the skulls of those he had killed and eaten. After resting a few days, the people of Tete returned to their homes, taking with them as slaves Kwizura's women and children. Such was the style of warfare on the Zambesi at the close of the sixteenth century.

Dos Santos was at Tete just before this event. After a residence of three years and a half at Sofala, during which time they baptized seventeen hundred individuals, most of whom must have been Bantu, he and his associate the friar João Madeira had been summoned to Mozambique by their provincial to labour in another field, and had left Sofala in July 1590 and travelled overland to the Zambesi in order to obtain a passage in a pangayo. But on their arrival they found no vessel would be leaving that year, so they arranged that João Madeira should remain at Sena and Dos Santos should proceed up the river to Tete to do duty for the priest there, who was prostrate with illness. He arrived at Tete in September 1590, and remained at that place until May 1591, when he went down to the mouth of the Zambesi, and with the father João Madeira proceeded to Mozambique. He was then sent to the island of Querimba, but in April 1594 was

instructed to proceed to Sofala again on a special mission. In consequence of this he went to Mozambique, and when the favourable monsoon set in took passage in a pangayo bound to Delagoa Bay, which was to touch at Sofala on the passage. Five days after leaving Mozambique he reached his destination. The pangayo proceeded to Delagoa Bay, where her officers employed themselves in bartering ivory for nearly a year. She was about to return to Mozambique when some Bantu fell upon her captain Manuel Malheiro and another officer, murdered them, and plundered the hut in which they had lived and the vessel. One white man remained alive, who succeeded in getting away with the empty pangayo and her Mohamedan crew. To such perils were the Portuguese exposed at the distant trading places on the coast.

On the 16th of April 1595 Dos Santos once more left Sofala for Mozambique, from which place he went to India, and then to Portugal, where his volume *Ethiopia Oriental* was printed in the Dominican convent at Evora in 1609. But his career in Africa was not yet ended, and we shall meet him again on the Zambesi in another chapter. His successor at Tete was the friar Nicolau do Rosario, of the same order, a man of great devotion, who had suffered much in the wreck of the ship *São Thomé* in 1589.

Before the destruction of Kwizura's band, while Dos Santos was still on the river, a powerful chief of the Mazimba, named Tondo, attacked some people who were on very friendly terms with the Portuguese and who lived on the northern bank of the Zambesi opposite Sena, dispossessed them of their land and killed and ate many of them. In 1592 these fugitives applied to André de Santiago, captain of Sena, for aid, and he, desiring to emulate the action of Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, collected as large a force as he could, Portuguese, mixed breeds, slaves, and friendly Bantu, and with two cannon taken from the walls of his fort crossed the river to attack the Mazimba, who were entrenched in a chumbo of unusual height and strength. Finding his force unequal to the enterprise he had undertaken, the captain of Sena formed a

camp on the bank of a rivulet flowing into the Zambesi, and sent to Tete for assistance.

Pedro Fernandes de Chaves responded by calling out his Bantu retainers and nearly all the Portuguese and half-breeds of Tete, with whom he crossed the Zambesi and marched down its northern bank towards the locality of the war. The Dominican friar Nicolau do Rosario accompanied the force as chaplain. When within a few miles of their destination the Portuguese and principal half-breeds, totally unsuspecting of danger, entered a thicket through which the path passed. They were half a league in advance of their Bantu auxiliaries, and, as was their usual way of travelling, were in palanquins and hammocks borne by their slaves, with other attendants carrying their arquebuses, when they were suddenly attacked by a band of Mazimba. Every man of them was killed on the spot except the friar, who was badly wounded and seized as a prisoner. He was taken to the chumbo and bound to a tree, where he was made a target for the arrows of his captors till death came to his relief. The Bantu auxiliaries, upon ascertaining what had happened, returned with all haste to Tete.

On the following morning the Mazimba appeared in triumph before André de Santiago's camp, with a man beating upon the drum taken from the Portuguese. Their chief was dressed in the murdered friar's robes, and the head of Pedro Fernandes de Chaves was carried aloft on the point of an assagai. The spoil taken in the thicket was exhibited in bravado, and with it the limbs of those who had fallen, which were destined to supply a feast for the cannibal band. The captain of Sena and his men looked at the cruel Mazimba with horror and dismay. That night they attempted to retreat, but on the bank of the Zambesi the enemy fell upon them, and after a stout resistance killed André de Santiago and many of his followers. The two captains, the priest of Tete, and a hundred and thirty white men and mixed breeds had now perished. The Portuguese power and influence on the Zambesi was almost annihilated.

While these events were taking place Dom Pedro de Sousa succeeded Lourenço de Brito as captain of Mozambique. At a later date he became very unpopular as a governor, being tyrannical in his conduct and permitting his son Dom Francisco to conduct himself as a brawler without reproof. For this he was punished by order of the king, but at the time to which this narrative has reached he was new to his office and therefore untried. He resolved to recover the position that had been lost on the Zambesi, and for this purpose he enlisted as many Europeans as were obtainable, and with them, seventy-five or eighty soldiers drawn from the garrison of the fort, and a good supply of artillery and other munitions of war, in 1593 he sailed for Sena. Here he formed a camp, and enlisted white men, mixed breeds, and Bantu, until he had a force under his command of about two hundred arquebusiers and fifteen hundred blacks armed in the native manner.

With these he crossed the river and attacked Tondo's stronghold, into which he tried to open an entrance with his cannon, but failed. Then he endeavoured to take the chumbo by storm, but when his men were crowded together close to it, the Mazimba shot their arrows, hurled their barbed assagais, and threw boiling water and burning fat upon them, until they fell back discomfited. Next he began to form huge wickerwork frames to be filled with earth, from the tops of which arquebusiers could keep the wall of the chumbo clear with their fire while men below were breaking it down, but before they could be completed the people he had engaged at Sena, who had now been two months in the field, clamoured to be allowed to return home, fearing, as they said, that their wives and children were in danger. Dom Pedro was obliged to accede to their demand, and commenced to retreat. While he was leaving his camp the Mazimba attacked him, and after killing many of his men, took his artillery and the greater part of his baggage. He and the remnant of his army escaped to Sena with difficulty, and from that place he returned to Mozambique, leaving

matters along the great river in a worse condition than ever before.

Tondo, however, made an offer of peace to the people of Sena, on condition that they should not interfere again in matters that only concerned Bantu tribes. The Mazimba, they were informed, had no desire to quarrel with white people, and had acted in self-defence throughout the war. The few traders at Sena were only too pleased to accept the proposal and resume their ordinary manner of living, though they had thereafter to submit to many insults and exactions from the victorious tribe. In 1597 some cannon and a quantity of ammunition and other supplies needed in war were sent from India by the viceroy, and the forts at Sena and Tete were equipped so that the inhabitants could find safety within them in case of attack. Gradually also men came to these stations to replace those who had been killed, so that in the time of Nuno da Cunha, who followed Jeronymo de Azevedo, Dom Pedro de Sousa's successor as captain of Mozambique, the villages recovered their earlier appearance.

The methods of carrying on trade in the country varied at different periods during the sixteenth century. At first it was conducted by factors appointed by the king, who sent out agents to sell goods supplied by the royal treasury, into which the proceeds were paid. After a time, however, the principal officials, whose salaries were very small, were allowed a share of the commerce, which was strictly defined. Thus, in 1559 the viceroy gave permission to Pantaleão de Sá, captain of Sofala and Mozambique, to purchase and send to India twenty-four tons* of ivory every year for sale on his own account. In 1562 Fernão Martins Freire d'Andrade, captain of Sofala and Mozambique, was granted by royal authority a monopoly of the commerce of the coast in pitch

* One hundred bars. The bar was a varying weight on the East African coast. At Mozambique it was equal to 229·6 kilogrammes of our time; on the Zambesi to 239·8 kilogrammes; at Sofala, if of ivory 239·8 kilogrammes, if of other merchandise 247·9 kilogrammes. Under these circumstances it is impossible in many instances to reduce these weights to English tons with absolute accuracy.

and coir, one-twentieth of the proceeds of the ivory barter upon his contributing one-twentieth of the capital employed in it, and was further to have a two-hundredth part of the profits on all other trade within the territory south of the Zambesi; and the factors and notaries were to have another two-hundredth part divided amongst them. The trade was still to be conducted for the royal treasury, and the captain was to send requisitions to Goa for the merchandise needed to carry it on.

In 1585 Dom Jorge de Menezes, chief ensign of Portugal, succeeded Nuno Velho Pereira as captain of Mozambique. On his appointment the viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes granted him a monopoly of the trade of Inhambane and of the whole coast south of Delagoa Bay, and subsequently farmed out to him the entire commerce of the country south of the Zambesi for fifty thousand cruzados a year. But in addition to this he was to maintain the forts in good order and to pay all the officials and expenses of government of every kind according to a list which was drawn up. On the expiration of his term of office he was to undergo a trial, and was to prove that these conditions had been faithfully observed and that all public buildings were in the same state as when he took them over.

This system had the advantage of adding something to the royal treasury, and of extending commerce more than ever before. When the experiment was made Sofala was yielding nothing except the profit on a small quantity of ivory, insufficient to meet the trifling cost of the maintenance of the station: four years later elephants' tusks weighing twenty-three tons were collected there yearly. Greater profit was gained from ivory than from any other article of commerce in Eastern Africa at this time. Taking one year with another, a quantity weighing nearly one hundred thousand avoirdupois pounds was sent annually to India by the captains while they had a monopoly of the trade. Gold came next, but the quantity obtained cannot be even approximately stated. Ambergris followed, and then in order pearls, gum, and wax.

The system made the whole of the Portuguese inhabitants of the country dependents of the captain of Mozambique, but their position was quite as bad before. The most that can be said in favour of it is that the law protected them in person and property, and that after 1548 no sentence of death could be carried into execution until it was confirmed by the supreme court of India.

In 1591 the government at Lisbon ordered the trade to be carried on again by the king's treasury, but two years later another experiment was made. This was to allow the captain of Mozambique a monopoly of the commerce in ivory, ambergris, and coir, and one-fiftieth of all the gold collected; and to throw open the trade in gold and other articles to all Portuguese subjects. Customs duties at the rate of six per cent upon goods imported and of twenty per cent upon gold exported were to be paid. This plan was in operation only two years when it was abandoned, and the system of farming out the whole of the commerce of the country south of the Zambesi to the captain of Mozambique was again resorted to. In 1596 Nuno da Cunha was appointed to that office, when the viceroy entered into a contract with him to pay forty thousand pardaos, or £9,600,* a year for his monopoly, to which the king added that he must also pay customs duties on merchandise imported.

North of the Zambesi the inhabitants of Mozambique were allowed to trade, as the policy of the government was to encourage them, in order to strengthen the means of defence of the fort. The jurisdiction of the captain at the close of the sixteenth century extended to all the stations and trading places from the island of Inyaka to Cape Delgado.

* Reckoning the pardao at three hundred and sixty reis, and the real as at this time equal to 0·16*d*. But it is very doubtful what the word pardao really signified in the contract. In another document I have found it used as an equivalent for cruzado, and in still another as equivalent to a xerafin of three hundred reis. If the gold coin of the name was meant, the amount would be about £14,000. It is not possible to give the exact equivalent, as unless where expressly stated as of gold, the pardao of the accounts, like the real, was an imaginary coin, representing different values not only at different times but at different places at the same time.

III.

APPEARANCE OF RIVALS IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE debt which the world owes to the Portuguese for weakening the Mohamedan power and thus preventing the subjugation of a larger portion of Eastern Europe than was actually overrun by the Turks should not be forgotten, but long before the close of the sixteenth century they had ceased to be participants in the great progressive movement of the Caucasian race. Upon a conquering nation rests an enormous responsibility: no smaller than that of benefiting the world at large. Was Portugal doing this in her eastern possessions to such an extent as to make her displacement there a matter deserving universal regret? Probably her own people would reply that she was, for every nation regards its own acts as better than those of others; but beyond her borders the answer unquestionably would be that she was not. Rapacity, cruelty, corruption, have all been laid to her charge at this period, and not without sufficient reason. But apart from these vices, her weakness under the Castilian kings was such that she was incapable of doing any good. When an individual is too infirm and decrepit to manage his affairs, a robust man takes his place, and so it is with States. The weak one may cry out that might is not right, but such a cry finds a very feeble echo. India was not held by the Portuguese under the only indefeasible tenure: that of making the best use of it; and thus it could be seized by a stronger power without Christian nations feeling that a wrong was being done.

Before recounting in brief the commencement of the Dutch

conquests, a glance may be given to the acts of other nations, and especially to those of our own countrymen, in the eastern seas at an earlier date.

The French were the first to follow the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope to India. As early as 1507 a corsair of that nation, named Mondragon, made his appearance in the Mozambique channel * with two armed vessels, and plundered a ship under command of Job Queimado. He also captured and robbed another Indiaman nearer home. On the 18th of January 1509 a fleet commanded by Duarte Pacheco fell in with him off Cape Finisterre, and after a warm engagement sank one of his ships and captured the other. Mondragon was taken a prisoner to Lisbon, where he found means of making his peace with the king, and he was then permitted to return to France.

Twenty years later three ships, fitted out by a merchant named Jean Ango, sailed from Dieppe for India. The accounts of this expedition are so conflicting that it is impossible to relate the occurrences attending it with absolute accuracy. It is certain, however, that one of the ships never reached her destination. Another was wrecked on the coast of Sumatra, where her crew were all murdered. The third reached Diu in July 1527. She had a crew of forty Frenchmen, but was commanded by a Portuguese named Estevão Dias, nicknamed Brigas, who had fled from his native country on account of misdeeds committed there, and had taken service with the strangers. The ruler of Diu regarded this ship with great hostility, and as he was unable to seize her openly, he practised deceit to get her crew within his power. Professing friendship, he gave Dias permission to trade in his territory, but took advantage of the first opportunity to arrest him and his crew. They were handed over as captives to the paramount Mohamedan ruler, and were obliged to embrace

* The particulars of this event cannot be ascertained, and it would even be doubtful whether Mondragon really rounded the Cape of Good Hope if it were not expressly stated in a summary of the directions issued by the king for his capture, that it took place "no canal de Moçambique."

his creed to preserve their lives. They were then taken into his service and remained in India.

Early in 1529 two ships commanded by Jean and Raoul Parmentier, fitted out partly by Jean Ango, partly by merchants of Rouen, sailed from Dieppe. In October of the same year they reached Sumatra, but on account of great loss of life from sickness, on the 22nd of January 1530 they turned homeward. As they avoided the Portuguese settlements, nothing was known at Goa of their proceedings except what was told by a sailor who was left behind at Madagascar and was afterwards found there. This expedition was almost as unsuccessful as the preceding one. On their return passage the ships were greatly damaged in violent storms, and they reached Europe with difficulty.

From that time until 1601 there is no trace of a French vessel having passed the Cape of Good Hope. In May of this year the *Corbin* and *Croissant*, two ships fitted out by Messrs. Laval and Vitré, Bretagne merchants, sailed from St. Malo. They reached the Maldives safely, but there the *Corbin* was lost in July 1602, and her commander was unable to return to France until ten years had gone by. The *Croissant* was lost on the Spanish coast on her homeward passage.

On the 1st of June 1604 a French East India Company was established on paper, but it did not get further. In 1615 it was reorganised, and in 1617 the first successful expedition to India under the French flag sailed from a port in Normandy. From that date onward ships of this nation were frequently seen in the eastern seas. But the French made no attempt to form a settlement in South Africa, and their only connection with this country was that towards the middle of the seventeenth century a vessel was sent occasionally from Rochelle to collect a cargo of sealskins and oil at the islands in and near the present Saldanha Bay.

The English were the next to appear in Indian waters. A few individuals of this nation may have served in Portuguese ships, and among the missionaries, especially of the Society of

Jesus, who went out to convert the heathen, it is not unlikely that there were several. One at least, Thomas Stephens by name, was rector of the Jesuit college at Salsette. A letter written by him from Goa in 1579, and printed in the second volume of Hakluyt's work, is the earliest account extant of an English voyager to that part of the world.* It contains no information of importance.

The famous sea captain Francis Drake, of Tavistock in Devon, sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December 1577, with the intention of exploring the Pacific ocean. His fleet consisted of five vessels, carrying in all one hundred and sixty-four men. His own ship, named the *Pelican*, was of one hundred and twenty tons burden. The others were the *Elizabeth*, eighty tons, the *Marigold*, thirty tons, a pinnace of twelve tons, and a storeship of fifty tons burden. The last named was set on fire as soon as her cargo was transferred to the others, the pinnace was abandoned, the *Marigold* was lost in a storm, the *Elizabeth*, after reaching the Pacific, turned back through the straits of Magellan, and the *Pelican* alone continued the voyage. She was the first English ship that sailed round the world. Captain Drake reached England again on the 3rd of November 1580, and soon afterwards was made a knight by Queen Elizabeth on board his ship. The *Pelican* did not touch at any part of the South African

* I do not mention Sir John Mandeville in the text, because modern criticism has proved that what he states concerning India in his book *The Voiage and trauayle of syr Iohn Maundeuille, knight, which treateth of the way toward Hierusalem, and of maruayles of Inde, with other Ilands and Countryes* was compiled from earlier foreign writers, though his work was regarded as genuine and trustworthy by Englishmen until recently. Nothing is known of him from contemporary records, and it is even regarded as possible that Mandeville* was a pseudonym. In his book he states that he was born at St. Albans, and travelled in the east as far as China between the years 1322 and 1357. It is now believed that he really visited Palestine, and his account of that country is considered as partly based on personal observation, but the remainder of the volume is spurious. The original was written in French. See the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article Mandeville. Of the numerous copies of the book, in many languages, in the library of the British Museum, the earliest was printed in 1480.

coast, but there is the following paragraph in the account of the voyage:—

“We ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portuguese to be most false, who affirm that it is the most dangerous cape of the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers who come near the same. This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it on the 18th of June.”

In 1583 four English traders in precious stones, acting partly on their own account and partly as agents for merchants in London, made their way by the Tigris and the Persian gulf to Ormuz, where at that time people of various nationalities were engaged in commerce. John Newbery, the leader of the party, had been there before. The others were named Ralph Fitch, William Leades, and James Story. Shortly after their arrival at Ormuz they were arrested by the Portuguese authorities on the double charge of being heretics and spies of the prior Dom Antonio, who was a claimant to the throne of Portugal, and under these pretences they were sent prisoners to Goa. There they managed to clear themselves of the first of the charges, Story entered a convent, and the others, on finding bail not to leave the city, were set at liberty in December 1584, mainly through the instrumentality of the Jesuit father Stephens and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, of whom more will be related in the following pages. Four months afterwards, being in fear of ill-treatment, they managed to make their escape from Goa. After a time they separated, and Fitch went on a tour through India, visiting many places before his return to England in 1591. An account of his travels is extant in Hakluyt's collection, but there is not much information in it, and it had no effect upon subsequent events.

Thomas Candish sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July 1586, with three ships—the *Desire*, of one hundred and twenty tons, the *Content*, of sixty tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, of forty tons—carrying in all one hundred and twenty-three souls.

After sailing round the globe, he arrived again in Plymouth on the 9th of September 1588, having passed the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of May.

The first English ships that put into a harbour on the South African coast were the *Penelope*, *Merchant Royal*, and *Edward Bonaventure*, which sailed from Plymouth for India on the 10th of April 1591, under command of Admiral George Raymond. This fleet put into the Watering Place of Saldanha at the end of July. The crews, who were suffering from scurvy, were at once sent on shore, where they obtained fresh food by shooting wild fowl and gathering mussels and other shell-fish along the rocky beach. Some natives had been seen when the ships sailed in, but they appeared terrified, and at once moved inland. Admiral Raymond visited Robben Island, where he found seals and penguins in great numbers. One day some hunters caught a native, whom they treated kindly, making him many presents and endeavouring to show him by signs that they were in want of cattle. They then let him go, and eight days afterwards he returned with thirty or forty others, bringing forty oxen and as many sheep. Trade was at once commenced, the price of an ox being two knives, that of a sheep one knife. So many men had died of scurvy that it was considered advisable to send the *Merchant Royal* back to England weak handed. The *Penelope*, with one hundred and one men, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, with ninety-seven men, sailed for India on the 8th of September. On the 12th a gale was encountered, and that night those in the *Edward Bonaventure*, whereof was captain James Lancaster—who was afterwards famous as an advocate of Arctic exploration, and whose name was given by Bylot and Baffin to the sound which terminated their discoveries in 1616—saw a great sea break over the admiral's ship, which put out her lights. After that she was never seen or heard of again.

The appearance of these rivals in the Indian seas caused much concern in Spain and Portugal. There was as yet no apprehension of the loss of the sources of the spice trade, but it was regarded as probable that English ships would lie

in wait at Saint Helena for richly laden vessels homeward bound, so in 1593 the king directed the viceroy to instruct the captains not to touch at that island.

It was not by Englishmen, however, though they visited India at this early period, but by the Dutch, that the Portuguese power in the East was overthrown. That power was like a great bubble, but it required pricking to make it burst, and our countrymen did not often come in contact with it. Sir Francis Drake indeed, who was utterly fearless, went wherever he chose, and opened fire upon all who attempted to interfere with him, but his successors, whose object was profit in trade, were naturally more cautious. The Indies were large, and so they avoided the Portuguese fortresses, and did what business they could with native rulers and people.

The merchants of the Netherlands had been accustomed to obtain at Lisbon the supplies of Indian products which they required for home consumption and for the large European trade which they carried on, but after 1580, when Portugal came under the dominion of Philippe II of Spain, they were shut out of that market. They then determined to open up direct communication with the East, and for that purpose made several gallant but fruitless efforts to find a passage along the northern shores of Europe and Asia. When the first of these had failed, and while the result of the second was still unknown, some merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a fleet of four vessels, which in the year 1595 sailed to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Before this date, however, a few Netherlands had visited the eastern seas in the Portuguese service, and among them was one in particular whose writings had great influence at that period and for more than half a century afterwards.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten was born at Haarlem, in the province of Holland. He received a good general education, but from an early age he gave himself up with ardour to the special study of geography and history, and eagerly read such books of travel as were within his reach. In 1579 he

obtained permission from his parents, who were then residing at Enkhuizen, to proceed to Seville, where his two elder brothers were pushing their fortunes. He was at Seville when the cardinal king Henrique of Portugal died, leaving the succession to the throne in dispute. The duke of Alva with a strong Spanish army won it for his master, and shortly afterwards Linschoten removed to Lisbon, where he was a clerk in a merchant's office when Philippe made his triumphal entry and when Alva died.

Two years later he entered the service of a Dominican friar, by name Vicente da Fonseca, who had been appointed by Philippe primate of India, the see of Goa having been raised to an archbishopric in 1557. In April 1583, with his employer he sailed from Lisbon, and after touching at Mozambique—where he remained from the 5th to the 20th of August, diligently seeking information on that part of the world—he arrived at Goa in September of the same year. He remained in India until January 1589. When returning to Europe in the ship *Santa Cruz* from Cochin, he passed through a quantity of wreckage from the ill-fated *São Thomé*, which had sailed from the same port five days before he left, and he visited several islands in the Atlantic, at one of which—Terceira—he was detained a long time. He reached Lisbon again in January 1592, and eight months later rejoined his family at Enkhuizen, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. From this date his name is inseparably connected with those of the gallant spirits who braved the perils of the polar seas in the effort to find a north-eastern passage to China.

Early in 1595 the first of Linschoten's books was published, in which an account is given of the sailing directions followed by the Portuguese in their navigation of the eastern waters, drawn from the treatises of their most experienced pilots. This work shows the highest knowledge of navigation that Europeans had then acquired. They had still no better instrument for determining latitudes than the astrolabe and the cross staff, and no means whatever for ascer-

taining longitudes. The vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope was known by the appearance of seabirds called Cape pigeons and the great drifting plants that are yet to be seen any day on the shores of the Cape peninsula. The different kinds of ground that adhered to the tallow of the sounding leads to some extent indicated the position, as did also the variation of the magnetic needle, but whether a ship was fifty or a hundred miles from any given point could not be ascertained by either of these means. When close to the shore, however, the position was known by the appearance of the land, the form of the hills and mountains, and the patches of sand and thicket, all of which had been carefully delineated and laid down in the sailing directions.

Linschoten's first book was followed in 1596 by a description of the Indies, and by several geographical treatises drawn from Portuguese sources, all profusely illustrated with maps and plates. Of Mozambique an ample account was given from personal observation and inquiry. Dom Pedro de Castro had just been succeeded as captain by Nuno Velho Pereira, who informed the archbishop that in his three years term of office he would realise a fortune of about nine tons of gold, or £75,000 sterling, derived chiefly from the trade in the precious metal carried on at Sofala and in the territory of the Monomotapa. Fort São Sebastião had then no other garrison than the servants and attendants of the captain, in addition to whom there were only forty or at most fifty Portuguese and half-breed male residents on the island capable of assisting in its defence. There were three or four hundred huts occupied by negroes, some of whom were professed Christians, others Mohamedans, and still others heathens. The exports to India were gold, ivory, ambergris, ebony, and slaves. African slaves, being much stronger in body than the natives of Hindostan, were used to perform the hardest and coarsest work in the eastern possessions of Portugal, and—though Linschoten does not state this—they were employed in considerable numbers in the trading ships to relieve the European seamen from the heavy labour of

pumping, hauling, stowing and unstowing cargo, cleansing, and so forth. These slaves were chiefly procured from the lands to the northward, and very few, if any of them, were natives of the country south of the Zambesi.

It serves to show how carefully and minutely Linschoten elicited information at Mozambique, that he mentions a harbour on the coast which is not named by any of the Portuguese writers of the time except Dos Santos, whose book was not then published, and who only refers to it incidentally, though it is now known to be the best port between Inhambane and the Zambesi. This is Beira, as at present termed, then known to the sailors of the pangayos that traded to the southward as Porto Bango. Linschoten gives its latitude as $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, half a degree north of Sofala. He mentions also Delagoa Bay, that is the present Algoa Bay, and gives its latitude as $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. He describes the monsoons of the Indian ocean, and states that ships from Portugal availed themselves of these periodical winds by waiting at Mozambique until the 1st of August, and never leaving after the middle of September, thus securing a safe and easy passage to the coast of Hindostan.

He frequently refers to the gold of Sofala and the country of the Monomotapa, of which he had heard just such reports as Vasco da Gama had eagerly listened to eighty-six years before. Yet he did not magnify the importance of these rumours as the Portuguese had done, though it was mainly from his writings that his countrymen became possessed of that spirit of cupidity which induced them a few years later to make strenuous efforts to become masters of South-Eastern Africa.

Linschoten's treatises were collected and published in a single large volume, and the work was at once received as a text-book, a position which its merits entitled it to occupy. The most defective portion of the whole is that referring to South Africa: and for this reason, that it was then impossible to get any correct information about the interior of the continent below the Zambesi west of the part frequented by the

Portuguese. Linschoten himself saw no more of it than a fleeting glimpse of False Cape afforded on his outward passage, and his description was of necessity based upon the faulty maps of the geographers of his time, so that it was full of errors. But his account of India and of the way to reach its several ports was so correct that it could serve the purpose of a guide-book, and his treatise on the mode of navigation by the Portuguese was thus used by the commander of the first Dutch fleet that appeared in the eastern seas.

The four vessels which left Texel on the 2nd of April 1595 were under the general direction of an officer named Cornelis Houtman. In the afternoon of the 2nd of August the Cape of Good Hope was seen, and next day, after passing Agulhas, the fleet kept close to the land, the little *Duifke* sailing in front and looking for a harbour. On the 4th the bay called by the Portuguese Agoada de São Bras was discovered, and as the *Duifke* found good holding ground in nine or ten fathoms of water, the *Mauritius*, *Hollandia*, and *Amsterdam* entered and dropped their anchors.

Here the fleet remained until the 11th, when sail was again set for the East. During the interval a supply of fresh water was taken in, and some oxen and sheep were purchased from the natives for knives, old tools, and pieces of iron. The Europeans were surprised to find the sheep covered with hair instead of wool, and with enormous tails of pure fat. No women or habitations were seen. The appearance of the Hottentots, their clothing, their assagais, their method of making a fire by twirling a piece of wood rapidly round in the socket of another piece, their filthiness in eating, and the clicking of their language, are all correctly described; but it was surmised that they were cannibals, because they were observed to eat the half-raw intestines of animals, and a fable commonly believed in Europe was repeated concerning their mutilation in a peculiar manner of the bodies of conquered enemies. The intercourse with the few natives seen was friendly, though at times each suspected the other of evil intentions.

A chart of the inlet was made,* from which it is seen to be the one now called Mossel Bay. A little island in it was covered with seals and penguins, some of each of which were killed and eaten. The variation of the compass was observed to be so trifling that the needle might be said to point to the north.

From the Watering Place of São Bras Houtman continued his voyage to India, but it is not necessary to relate occurrences there. After his return to Europe several companies were formed in different towns of the Netherlands, with the object of trading to the East and wresting from the Portuguese that wealth which they were then too feeble to guard.

In the *Leeuw*, one of the ships sent out in 1598, and which put into the Watering Place of Saldanha for refreshment, the famous English seaman John Davis was chief pilot. He wrote an account of the voyage, in which he states that the Hottentots in Table Valley fell by surprise upon the men who were ashore bartering cattle, and killed thirteen of them. In his narrative Davis says that at Cape Agulhas the magnetic needle was without variation, but in his sailing directions, written after another voyage to India, he says: "At False Cape there is no variation that I can find by observing south from it. The variation of Cape Agulhas is thirty minutes from north to west. And at the Cape of Good Hope the compass is varied from north to east five and twenty minutes."

No fresh discoveries on the African coast were made by any of the fleets sent out at this time, but to some of the bays new names were given.

In December 1599 four ships fitted out by an association at Amsterdam calling itself the New Brabant Company sailed

* It is attached to the original journals, now in the archives of the Netherlands. I made a copy of it on tracing linen for the Cape government, as it differs considerably from the chart in the printed condensed journal of the voyage. In other respects also the compilation of the printed journal has been very carelessly executed.

from Texel for the Indies, under command of Pieter Both. Two of them returned early in 1601, leaving the *Vereenigde Landen* and the *Hof van Holland* under charge of Paulus van Caerden to follow as soon as they could obtain cargoes. On the 8th of July 1601 Van Caerden put into the Watering Place of São Bras on the South African coast, for the purpose of repairing one of his ships which was in a leaky condition. The commander, with twenty soldiers, went a short distance inland to endeavour to find people from whom he could obtain some cattle, but though he came across a party of eight natives he did not succeed in getting any oxen or sheep. A supply of fresh water was taken in, but no refreshment except mussels could be procured, on account of which Van Caerden gave the inlet the name Mossel Bay, which it has ever since retained.

On the 14th, the *Hof van Holland* having been repaired, the two ships sailed, but two days later, as they were making no progress against a head wind, they put into another bay. Here natives were found, from whom the voyagers obtained for pieces of iron as many horned cattle and sheep as they could consume fresh or had salt to preserve. For this reason the commander gave it the name Flesh Bay.

On the 21st sail was set, but the *Hof van Holland* being found leaky again, on the 23rd another bay was entered, where her damages were repaired. On account of a westerly gale the ships were detained here until the 30th, when they sailed, but finding the wind contrary outside, they returned to anchor. No natives were seen, but the commander visited a river near by, where he encountered a party from whom he obtained five sheep in exchange for bits of iron. In the river were numerous hippopotami. Abundance of fine fish having been secured here, the commander gave the inlet the name Fish Bay.

On the 2nd of August the ships sailed, and on the 27th passed the Cape of Good Hope, to the great joy of all on

board, who had begun to fear that they would be obliged to seek a port on the eastern side to winter in.

On the 5th of May 1601 a fleet of three vessels, named the *Ram*, the *Schaap*, and the *Lam*, sailed for the Indies from Vere in Zeeland, under command of Joris van Spilbergen. On the 15th of November the fleet put into St. Helena Bay, where no inhabitants were seen, though many fires were observed inland. The only refreshment procurable was fish, which were caught in great quantities.

On the 20th Spilbergen sailed from St. Helena Bay, and beating against a head wind, on the evening of the 28th he anchored off an island, to which he gave the name Elizabeth. Four years later Sir Edward Michelburne termed it Cony Island, which name, under the Dutch form of Dassen, it still bears. Seals in great numbers, sea-birds of different kinds, and conies were found. At this place he remained only twenty-four hours. On the 2nd of December he cast anchor close to another island, which he named Cornelia. It was the Robben island of the present day. Here were found seals and penguins in great numbers, but no conies. The next day at noon Spilbergen reached the Watering Place of Saldanha, the anchorage in front of Table Mountain, and gave it the name Table Bay, which it still bears.

The sick were conveyed to land, where a hospital was established. A few natives were met, to whom presents of beads were made, and who were understood to make signs that they would bring cattle for sale, but they went away and did not return. Abundance of fish was obtained with a seine at the mouth of a stream which Spilbergen named the Jacqueline, now Salt River; but, as meat was wanted, the smallest of the vessels was sent to Elizabeth Island, where a great number of penguins and conies were killed and salted in. The fleet remained in Table Bay until the 23rd of December. When passing Cornelia Island, a couple of conies were set on shore, and seven or eight sheep, which had been left there by some previous voyagers, were shot, and their carcasses taken on board. Off the Cape of Good

Hope the two French ships of which mention has been made were seen.

Spilbergen kept along the coast, noticing the formation of the land and the numerous streams falling into the sea, but was sorely hindered in his progress by the Agulhas current, which he found setting so strong to the south-westward that at times he could make no way against it even with the breeze in his favour. On the 17th of January 1602, owing to this cause, he stood off from the coast, and did not see it again.

The fleets sent out by the different small companies which had been formed in the chief towns of the Free Netherlands gained surprising successes over the Portuguese in India, but as they did not work in concert no permanent conquests could be made. For this reason, as well as to prevent rivalry and to conduct the Indian trade in a manner the most beneficial to the people of the whole republic, the states-general resolved to unite all the small trading associations in one great company with many privileges and large powers. The charter, or terms upon which the Company came into existence, was dated at the Hague on the 20th of March 1602, and contained forty-six clauses, the principal of which were as follow:—

All of the inhabitants of the United Netherlands had the right given to them to subscribe to the capital in as small or as large sums as they might choose, with this proviso, that if more money should be tendered than was needed, those applying for shares of over two thousand five hundred pounds sterling should receive less, so that the applicants for smaller shares might have allotted to them the full amounts asked for.

The chambers, or offices for the transaction of business, were to participate in the following proportion: that of Amsterdam one-half, that of Middelburg in Zeeland one quarter, those of Delft and Rotterdam, otherwise called of the Maas, together one-eighth, and those of Hoorn and Enkhuizen, otherwise called those of the North Quarter or sometimes those of

North Holland and West Friesland, together the remaining eighth.

The general directory was to consist of seventeen persons, eight of whom were to represent the chamber of Amsterdam, four that of Middelburg, two those of the Maas, two those of the North Quarter, and the seventeenth was to be chosen alternately by all of these except the chamber of Amsterdam. The place of meeting of the general directory was fixed at Amsterdam for six successive years, then at Middelburg for two years, then at Amsterdam again for six years, and so on.

The directors of each chamber were named in the charter, being the individuals who were the directors of the companies previously established in those towns, and it was provided that no others should be appointed until these should be reduced by death or resignation: in the chamber of Amsterdam to twenty persons, in that of Zeeland to twelve, and in those of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each to seven. After that, whenever a vacancy should occur, the remaining directors were to nominate three qualified individuals, of whom the states of the province in which the chamber was situated were to select one.

To qualify an individual to be a director in the chambers of the North Quarter it was necessary to own shares to the value of £250 sterling, and double that amount to be a director in any of the other chambers. The directors were to be bound by oath to be faithful in the administration of the duties entrusted to them, and not to favour a majority of the shareholders at the expense of a minority. Directors were prohibited from selling anything whatever to the Company without previously obtaining the sanction of the states provincial or the authorities of the city in which the chamber that they represented was situated.

All inhabitants of the United Provinces other than this Company were prohibited from trading beyond the Straits of Magellan, or to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the period of twenty-one years, for which the charter was

granted, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. Within these limits the East India Company was empowered to enter into treaties and make contracts in the name of the states-general, to build fortresses, to appoint governors, military commanders, judges, and other necessary officers, who were all, however, to take oaths of fidelity to the states-general or high authorities of the Netherlands, who were not to be prevented from making complaints to the states-general, and whose appointments were to be reported to the states-general for confirmation.

For these privileges the Company was to pay £12,500 sterling, which amount the states-general subscribed towards the capital, for the profit and at the risk of the general government of the provinces. The capital was nominally furnished in the following proportions: Amsterdam one-half, Zeeland one-fourth, the Maas one-eighth, and the North Quarter one-eighth; but in reality it was contributed as under:—

		£	s.	d.
Amsterdam		307,202	10	0
Zeeland		106,304	10	0
The Maas {	Delft	38,880	3	4
	Rotterdam	14,546	16	8
The North Quarter {	Hoorn	22,369	3	4
	Enkhuizen	47,380	3	4
Total working capital		536,683	6	8
The share of the states-general		12,500	0	0
Total nominal capital		549,183	6	8

The capital was divided into shares of £250 sterling each. The shares, often sub-divided into fractions, were negotiable like any other property, and rose or fell in value according to the position of the Company at any time.

The advantage which the State derived from the establishment of this great association was apparent. The sums received in payment of import dues would have been contributed to an equal extent by individual traders. The

amounts paid for the renewal of the charter—in 1647 the Company paid £133,333 6s. 8d. for its renewal for twenty-five years, and still larger sums were paid subsequently—might have been derived from trading licenses. The Company frequently aided the Republic with loans of large amount when the State was in temporary need, but loans could then have been raised in the modern method whenever necessary. Apart from these services, however, there was one supreme advantage gained by the creation of the East India Company which could not have been obtained from individual traders. A powerful navy was called into existence, great armed fleets working in unison and subject to the same control were always ready to assist the State. What must otherwise have been an element of weakness, a vast number of merchant ships scattered over the ocean and ready to fall a prey to an enemy's cruisers, was turned into a bulwark of strength.

In course of time several modifications took place in the constitution of the Company, and the different provinces as well as various cities were granted the privilege of having representatives in one or other of the chambers. Thus the provinces Gelderland, Utrecht, and Friesland, and the cities Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, and Gouda had each a representative in the chamber of Amsterdam; Groningen had a representative in the chamber of Zeeland; Overijssel one in the chamber of Delft, &c. The object of this was to make the Company represent the whole Republic.

Notwithstanding such regulations, however, the city of Amsterdam soon came to exercise an immoderate influence in the direction. In 1672 it was estimated that shares equal to three-fourths of the whole capital were owned there, and of the twenty-five directors of the local chamber, eighteen were chosen by the burgomasters of the city. Fortunately, the charter secured to the other chambers a stated proportion of patronage and trade.

Such was the constitution of the Company which set itself the task of destroying the Portuguese power in the East and securing for itself the lucrative spice trade. It had

no difficulty in obtaining as many men as were needed, for the German states—not then as now united in one great empire—formed an almost inexhaustible reservoir to draw soldiers from, and the Dutch fisheries, together with Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, furnished an adequate supply of excellent seamen. It sent out strong and well armed fleets, capable of meeting any force the enemy had to oppose them, and of driving him from the open seas. The first of these fleets consisted of three large ships, commanded by Sebald de Weert, which sailed on the 31st of March 1602, and it was followed on the 17th of June of the same year by eleven large ships and a yacht, under command of Wybrand van Waerwyk.

The Company soon wrested from the Portuguese their choicest possessions in the East, besides acquiring other valuable territory from native owners. Its dividends to the shareholders were enormous, owing largely to the spoil captured by its fleets. In one year they rose to seventy-five per cent of the paid-up capital, and for upwards of a century they averaged above twenty per cent.

IV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH.

THOUGH the Dutch were soon in almost undisputed possession of the valuable Spice islands, they were never able to eject the Portuguese from the comparatively worthless coast of South-Eastern Africa. That coast would only have been an encumbrance to them, if they had secured it, for its commerce was never worth much more than the cost of its maintenance until the highlands of the interior were occupied by Europeans, and the terrible mortality caused by its malaria would have been a serious misfortune to them. It was out of their ocean highway too, for they steered across south of Madagascar, instead of keeping along the African shore. But they were drawn on by rumours of the gold which was to be had, and so they resolved to make themselves masters of Mozambique, and with that island of all the Portuguese possessions subordinate to it. In Lisbon their intentions were suspected, and in January 1601 the king issued instructions that Dom Alvaro d'Abranches, Nuno da Cunha's successor as captain of Mozambique, was on no account to absent himself from the island, as it might at any time be attacked by either the Turks or the Dutch.

On the 18th of December 1603 Steven van der Hagen left Holland for India with a strong armed fleet, consisting of the *Vereenigde Provinciën*, *Amsterdam*, *Dordrecht*, *Hoorn*, and *West Friesland*, each of three hundred and fifty tons burden, the *Gelderland* and *Zeelandia*, each of two hundred and fifty tons, the *Hof van Holland*, of one hundred and eighty tons, the *Delft* and *Enkhuizen*, each of one hundred and fifty tons, the

Medenblik, of one hundred and twenty-five tons, and a despatch boat named the *Duifken*, of thirty tons burden. In those days such a fleet was regarded as, and actually was, a very formidable force, for though there were no ships in it of the size of the great galleons of Spain and Portugal, each one was much less unwieldy, and had its artillery better placed. There were twelve hundred men on board, and the equipment cost no less than £184,947 6s. 8d.

Van der Hagen arrived before Mozambique on the 17th of June 1604. Fort São Sebastião had not at the time its ordinary garrison of one hundred soldiers, owing to a disaster that had recently occurred. A great horde of barbarians, called the Cabires by the Portuguese, had entered the territory of the Monomotapa, and were laying it waste, so the captain Lourenço de Brito, by the king's order, went to the assistance of the Kalanga chief, but was defeated and lost ten or twelve Portuguese and part of his stores. Sebastião de Macedo was then in command at Mozambique. He sent a vessel with fifty soldiers to De Brito's assistance, but on the passage she was lost with all on board. None had yet arrived to replace them, but the resident inhabitants of the island had retired to the fort with everything of value that they could remove, so Van der Hagen considered it too strong to be attacked and therefore proceeded to blockade it. There was a carrack at anchor, waiting for some others from Lisbon to sail in company to Goa. The boats of the Dutch fleet cut her out, in spite of the heavy fire of the fort upon them. She had on board a quantity of ivory collected on the East African coast, but nothing else of much value.

On the 30th of June a small vessel from one of the factories, laden with rice and ivory, came running up to the island, and was too near to escape when she discovered her danger. She was turned into a tender, and named the *Mozambique*. Then, for five weeks, the blockade continued, without any noteworthy incident. On the 5th of August five pangayos arrived, laden with rice and millet, and were of course seized. Three days later Van der Hagen landed on

the island with one hundred and fifty men, but found no sign of hunger, and saw that the prospect of the surrender of the fort was remote. He did no other damage than setting fire to a single house, and as night drew on he returned on board.

He was now anxious to proceed to India, so on the 12th of August he set fire to the captured carrack, and sailed, leaving the *Delft*, *Enkhuizen*, and *Duifken*, to wait for the ships expected from Lisbon. These vessels rejoined him, but without having made any prizes, before he attacked the Portuguese at Amboina and Tidor, and got possession of the Spice islands. In this manner the first siege of Mozambique was conducted, and failed.

The next attempt was in 1607. On the 29th of March of that year a Dutch fleet of eight large ships—the *Banda*, *Bantam*, *Ceylon*, *Walcheren*, *Ter Veere*, *Zierikzee*, *China*, and *Patane*,—carrying one thousand and sixty men, commanded by Paulus van Caerden, appeared before the island. The Portuguese historian of this event represents that the fortress was at the time badly in want of repair, that it was insufficiently provided with cannon, and that there were no artillerymen nor indeed regular soldiers of any branch of the service in it, its defence being undertaken by seventy male inhabitants of the town, who were the only persons on the island capable of bearing arms. But this statement does not agree either with the Dutch narrative or with the account given by Dos Santos, from which it appears that there were between soldiers and residents of the island one hundred and forty-five men in the fortress. It was commanded by an officer—Dom Estevão d'Ataide by name—who deserves a place among the bravest of his countrymen. He divided his force into four companies, to each of which he gave a bastion in charge. To one, under Martim Gomes de Carvalho, was committed the defence of the bastion São João, another, under Antonio Monteiro Corte Real, had a similar charge in the bastion Santo Antonio, the bastion Nossa Senhora was confided to the care of André de Alpoim de Brito, while the

bastion São Gabriel, which was the one most exposed to assault on the land side and where the stoutest resistance would have to be made, was entrusted to the company under Diogo de Carvalho. The people of the town hastily took shelter within the fortress, carrying their most valuable effects with them.

Van Caerden, in the *Banda*, led the way right under the guns of São Sebastião to the anchorage, where the Sofala packet and two carracks were lying. A heavy fire was opened on both sides, but, though the ships were slightly damaged, as the ramparts were of great height and the Portuguese guns could not be depressed to command the Dutch position thoroughly, no one except the master of the *Ceylon* was wounded. Two of the vessels at anchor were partly burned, but all were made prizes, after their crews had escaped to the shore.

On the 1st of April Van Caerden landed with seven hundred men and seven heavy guns, several of them twenty-eight-pounders, in order to lay siege to Fort São Sebastião. The Portuguese set fire to the town, in order to prevent their enemy from getting possession of spoil, though in this object they were unsuccessful, as a heavy fall of rain extinguished the flames before much damage was done. The Dutch commander took possession of the abandoned buildings without opposition, and made the Dominican convent his headquarters, lodging his people in the best houses. He commenced at once making trenches in which the fortress could be approached by men under shelter from its fire, and on the 6th his first battery was completed. The blacks, excepting the able-bodied, being considered an encumbrance by both combatants, D'Ataide expelled those who were in the fort, and Van Caerden caused all who were within his reach to be transported to the mainland.

From the batteries, which were mere earthen mounds with level surfaces, protected on the exposed sides with boxes, casks, and bags filled with soil, a heavy fire was opened, by which the parapet of the bastion Santo Antonio was broken

down, but it was repaired at night by the defenders, the women and others incapable of bearing arms giving assistance in this labour. The musketeers on the walls, in return, caused some loss to their opponents by shooting any who exposed themselves. The Portuguese historian makes special mention of one Dutch officer in a suit of white armour, who went about recklessly in full view, encouraging his men, and apparently regardless of danger, until he was killed by a musket ball.

The trenches were at length within thirty paces of the bastion São Gabriel, and a battery was constructed there, which could not be injured by the cannon on the fortress owing to their great elevation, while from it the walls could be battered with twenty-eight pound shot as long as the artillerymen took care not to show themselves to the musketeers on the ramparts. The Dutch commander then proposed a parley, and D'Ataide having consented, he demanded the surrender of the fortress. He stated that the Portuguese could expect no assistance from either Europe or India, as the mother country was exhausted and the viceroy Dom Martim Affonso de Castro had been defeated in a naval engagement, besides which nearly all the strongholds of the East were lost to them. It would therefore be better to capitulate while it could be done in safety than to expose the lives of the garrison to the fury of men who would carry the place by storm. Further, even if the walls proved too massive for cannon, hunger must soon reduce the fortress, as there could not be more than three months' provisions in it. The Portuguese replied with taunts and bravado, and defied the besiegers to do their worst. They would have no other intercourse with rebels, they said, than that of arms.

During the night of the 17th some of the garrison made a sortie for the purpose of destroying a drawbridge, which they effected, and then retired, after having killed two men according to their own account, though only having wounded one according to the Dutch statement. A trench was now made close up to the wall of the bastion São Gabriel, and

was covered with movable shields of timber of such thickness that they could not be destroyed by anything thrown upon them from the ramparts. During the night of the 29th, however, the garrison made a second sortie, in which they killed five Hollanders and wounded many more, and on the following day they succeeded in destroying the wooden shields by fire.

In the meantime fever and dysentery had attacked Van Caerden's people, and the prospect was becoming gloomy in the extreme. The fire from the batteries and ships had not damaged the walls of the fortress below the parapet, and sickness was increasing so fast that the Dutch commander could not wait for famine to give him the prize. He therefore resolved to raise the siege, and on the 6th of May he removed his cannon.

War between nations of different creeds in those days was carried on in a merciless manner. On the 7th of May Van Caerden wrote to Captain D'Ataide that he intended to burn and destroy all the churches, convents, houses, and palm groves on the island and the buildings and plantations on the mainland, unless they were ransomed; but offered to make terms if messengers were sent to him with that object. A truce was entered into for the purpose of correspondence, and six Hollanders dressed in Spanish costume went with a letter to the foot of the wall, where it was fastened to a string and drawn up. D'Ataide declined the proposal, however, and replied that he had no instructions from his superiors, nor intention of his own, except to do all that was possible with his weapons. He believed that if he ransomed the town on this occasion, he would only expose it to similar treatment every time a strong Dutch fleet should pass that way.

Van Caerden then burned all the boats, canoes, and houses, cut down all the cocoa-nut trees, sent a party of men to the mainland, who destroyed everything of value that they could reach there, and finally, just before embarking, he set fire to the Dominican convent and the church of

São Gabriel. What was more to be deplored, adds the Portuguese historian Barbuda, "the perfidious heretics burned with abominable fury all the images that were in the churches, after which they treated them with a thousand barbarous indignities." The walls of the great church and of some other buildings were too massive to be destroyed by the flames, but everything else was utterly ruined.

On the morning of the 16th of May, before daylight, the Dutch fleet set sail. As the ships were passing Fort São Sebastião every gun that could be got to bear was brought into use on both sides, when the *Zierikzee* had her tiller shot away, and ran aground. Her crew and the most valuable effects on board were rescued, however, by the boats of the rest of the fleet, though many men were wounded by the fire from the fort. The wreck was given to the flames.

In the second attempt to get possession of Mozambique the Dutch lost forty men, either killed by the enemy or carried off by fever, and they took many sick and wounded away. The Portuguese asserted that they had only thirteen men killed during the siege, and they magnified their slain opponents to over three hundred.

After Van Caerden sailed the Portuguese set about repairing the damage that had been done. In this they were assisted by the crews of three ships, under command of the newly appointed viceroy Dom Jeronymo Coutinho, that called on their way from Lisbon to Goa. The batteries were removed, the trenches were levelled, the walls of the ruined Dominican convent were broken down, and the fortress was repaired and provided with a good supply of food and munitions of war. Its garrison also was strengthened with one hundred soldiers landed from the ships. The inhabitants of the town returned to the ruins of their former habitations, and endeavoured to make new homes for themselves. These efforts to retrieve their disasters had hardly been made when the island was attacked by another and more formidable fleet.

It consisted of the ships *Geunieerde Provintien*, *Hollandia*, *Amsterdam*, *Roode Leeuw met Pylen*, *Middelburg*, *Zeelandia*,

Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Arend, Paauw, Valk, and Griffioen, carrying in all between eighteen and nineteen hundred men, and was under the command of Pieter Willemszoon Verhoeff, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself after Admiral Heemskerk's death in the famous battle in Gibraltar Bay. Verhoeff left the Netherlands on the 22nd of December 1607, and after a long stay at the island of St. Helena where he waited for the westerly winds to take him past the Cape of Good Hope, on the 28th of July 1608 arrived at Mozambique. He was under the impression that Van Caerden had certainly obtained possession of the fortress, and his object was to lie in wait for Portuguese ships in the Channel; but he was undeceived when his signals were answered with cannon balls and a flag of defiance was hoisted over the ramparts.

In the port were lying four coasting vessels and a carrack with a valuable cargo on board, ready to sail for Goa. In endeavouring to escape, the carrack ran aground under the guns of the fort, where the Dutch got possession of her, and made thirty-four of the crew prisoners. These were removed, but before much of the cargo could be got out the Portuguese from the fortress made a gallant dash, retook the carrack, and burned her to the water's edge. Two of the coasters were made prizes, the other two were in a position where they could not be attacked.

Within a few hours of his arrival Verhoeff landed a strong force, and formed a camp on the site of the destroyed Dominican convent. Next morning he commenced making trenches towards the fortress, by digging ditches and filling bags with earth, of which banks were then made. The Portuguese of the town had retired within the fortress in such haste that they were unable to remove any of their effects, and the blacks, as during the preceding siege, were now sent over to the mainland to be out of the way. Some of the ships were directed to cruise off the port, the others were anchored out of cannon range. A regular siege of the fortress was commenced.

In the mode of attack this siege differed little from that by Van Caerden, as trenches and batteries were made in the same manner and almost in the same places. But there were some incidents connected with it that deserve to be mentioned. At its commencement an accident occurred in the fortress, which nearly had disastrous consequences. A soldier, through carelessness, let a lighted fuse fall in a quantity of gunpowder, and by the explosion that resulted several men were killed and a fire was kindled which for a short time threatened the destruction of the storehouses, but which was extinguished before much harm was done.

On the second day after the batteries were in full working order the wall of the fortress between the bastions Santo Antonio and São Gabriel was partly broken down, and, according to the Portuguese account, a breach was opened through which a storming party might have entered. "If," says the historian Barbuda, "they had been Portuguese, no doubt they would have stormed; but as the Dutch are nothing more than good artillerymen, and beyond this are of no account except to be burned as desperate heretics, they had not courage to rush through the ruin of the wall." That this was said of men who had fought under Heemskerk leads one to suspect that probably the breach was not of great size, and the more so as the garrison was able to repair it during the following night. It is not mentioned in the Dutch account, in which the bravery of their opponents is fully recognised.

On the 4th of August Verhoeff sent a trumpeter with a letter demanding the surrender of the fortress. D'Ataide would not even write a reply. He said that as he had compelled Van Caerden to abandon the siege he hoped to be able to do the same with his present opponent. The captain of the bastion São Gabriel, however, wrote that the castle had been confided by the king to the commandant, who was not the kind of cat to be taken without gloves. Verhoeff believed that the garrison was ill supplied with food, so his trumpeter was well entertained, and on several occa-

sions goats and pigs were driven out of the gateway in a spirit of bravado.

Sorties were frequently made by the besieged, who had the advantage of being able to observe from the ramparts the movements of the Dutch. In one of these a soldier named Moraria distinguished himself by attacking singly with his lance three pikemen in armour at a distance from their batteries, killing two of them, and wounding the other.

D'Ataide was made acquainted with his enemy's plans by a French deserter, who claimed his protection on the ground of being of the same religion. Four others subsequently deserted from the Dutch camp, and were received in the fortress on the same plea. Verhoeff demanded that they should be surrendered to him, and threatened that if they were not given up he would put to death the thirty-four prisoners he had taken in the carrack. D'Ataide replied that if the prisoners were thirty-four thousand he would not betray men who were Catholics and who had claimed his protection, but if the Portuguese captives were murdered their blood would certainly be avenged. Verhoeff relates in his journal that the whole of the prisoners were then brought out in sight of the garrison and shot, regarding the act in the spirit of the time as rather creditable than otherwise; but the version of the Portuguese historian may be correct, in which it is stated that six men with their hands bound were shot in sight of their countrymen, and that the others, though threatened, were spared.

Until the 18th of August the siege was continued. Twelve hundred and fifty cannon balls had been fired against the fortress, without effect as far as its reduction was concerned. Thirty of Verhoeff's men had been killed and eighty were lying wounded. He therefore abandoned the effort, and embarked his force, after destroying what remained of the town.

On the 21st a great galleon approached the island so close that the ships in the harbour could be counted from her deck, but put about the moment the Dutch flag was distinguished. Verhoeff sent the ships *Arend*, *Grifioen*, and

Valk in pursuit, and she was soon overtaken. According to the Dutch account she made hardly any resistance, but in a letter to the king from her captain, Francisco de Sodre Pereira, which is still preserved, he claims to have made a gallant stand for the honour of his flag. The galleon was poorly armed, but he says that he fought till his ammunition was all expended, and even then would not consent to surrender, though the ship was so riddled with cannon balls that she was in danger of going down. He preferred, he said to those around him, to sink with his colours flying. The purser, however, lowered the ensign without orders, and a moment afterwards the Dutch, who had closed in, took possession. The prize proved to be the *Bom Jesus*, from Lisbon, which had got separated from a fleet on the way to Goa, under command of the newly appointed viceroy, the count De Feira. She had a crew of one hundred and eighty men. The officers were detained as prisoners, the others were put ashore on the island Saint George with provisions sufficient to last them two days.

On the 23rd of August the fleet sailed from Mozambique for India. There can be little question that this defeat of the Dutch was more advantageous to them than victory would have been, for if their design had succeeded a very heavy tax upon their resources and their energy would have been entailed thereafter. They did not realise this fact, however, and fifty-five years later another unsuccessful attempt was made to acquire the coveted East African possessions.

Although Fort São Sebastião after the last siege was provided with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men and some small armed vessels were kept on the coast to endeavour to prevent the Dutch from communicating with the natives or obtaining provisions and water, their ships kept the Portuguese stations in constant alarm. In the eastern seas they were by this time the dominant power, and were fast building up a commerce greater by far than the Portuguese had ever carried on. They distributed their spices and silks over Europe, whereas their predecessors were satisfied

with making Lisbon a market, to which purchasers of other nations might come for whatever they needed.

On the 21st of November 1609 Pieter Both was appointed first governor-general of Netherlands India. He left Texel with the next fleet, which sailed in the following January. In a great storm off the Cape his ship got separated from the others, so he put into Table Bay to repair some damages to the mainmast and to refresh his men. In July 1610 Captain Nicholas Downton called at the same port in an English vessel, and found Governor-General Both's ship lying at anchor and also two homeward bound Dutch ships taking in train oil which had been collected at Robben Island.

In May 1611 the Dutch skipper Isaac le Maire, after whom the straits of Le Maire are named, called at Table Bay. When he sailed, he left behind his son Jacob and a party of seamen, who resided in Table Valley for several months. Their object was to kill seals on Robben Island, and to harpoon whales, which were then very abundant in South African waters in the winter season. They also tried to open up a trade for skins of animals with the Hottentots.

In 1616 the assembly of seventeen resolved that its outward bound fleets should always put into Table Bay to refresh the crews, and from that time onward Dutch ships touched there almost every season. A kind of post office was established by marking the dates of arrivals and departures on stones, and burying letters in places indicated. But no attempt was made to explore the country, and no port south of the Zambesi except Table Bay was frequented by Netherlands, so that in the middle of the century nothing more concerning it was known than the Portuguese had placed on record.

In England an East India Company was also established, whose first fleet, consisting of the *Dragon*, of six hundred tons, the *Hector*, of three hundred tons, the *Ascension*, of two hundred and sixty tons, and the *Susan*, of two hundred and forty tons burden, sailed from Torbay on the 22nd of April 1601. The admiral was James Lancaster, the same who had

commanded the *Edward Bonaventure* ten years earlier. The chief pilot was John Davis, who had only returned from the Indies nine months before. On the 9th of September the fleet came to anchor in Table Bay, by which time the crews of all except the admiral's ship were so terribly afflicted with scurvy that they were unable to drop their anchors. The admiral had kept his men in a tolerable state of health by supplying them with a small quantity of limejuice daily. After his ship was anchored he was obliged to get out his boats and go to the assistance of the others. Sails were then taken on shore to serve as tents, and the sick were landed as soon as possible. Trade was commenced with the natives, and in the course of a few days forty-two oxen and a thousand sheep were obtained for pieces of iron hoop. The fleet remained in Table Bay nearly seven weeks, during which time most of the sick men recovered.

On the 5th of December 1604 the *Tiger*—a ship of two hundred and forty tons—and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp* set sail from Cowes for the Indies. The expedition was under command of Sir Edward Michelburne, and next to him in rank was Captain John Davis. It was the last voyage that this famous seaman was destined to make, for he was killed in an encounter with Japanese pirates on the 27th of December 1605. The journal of the voyage contains the following paragraph:—

“The 3rd of April 1605 we sailed by a little island which Captain John Davis took to be one that stands some five or six leagues from Saldanha. Whereupon our general, Sir Edward Michelburne, desirous to see the island, took his skiff, accompanied by no more than the master's mate, the purser, myself, and four men that did row the boat, and so putting off from the ship we came on land. While we were on shore they in the ship had a storm, which drove them out of sight of the island; and we were two days and two nights before we could recover our ship. Upon the said island is abundance of great conies and seals, whereupon we called it Cony Island.”

On the 8th of April they anchored in Table Bay, where they remained until the 3rd of the following month refreshing themselves.

From this date onward the fleets of the English East India Company made Table Bay a port of call and refreshment, and usually procured in barter from the natives as many cattle as they needed. In 1614 the board of directors sent a ship with as many spare men as she could carry, a quantity of provisions, and some naval stores to Table Bay to wait for the homeward bound fleet, and, while delayed, to carry on a whale and seal fishery as a means of partly meeting the expense. The plan was found to answer fairly well, and it was continued for several years. The relieving vessels left England between October and February, in order to be at the Cape in May, when the homeward bound fleets usually arrived from India. If men were much needed, the victualler—which was commonly an old vessel—was then abandoned, otherwise an ordinary crew was left in her to capture whales, or she proceeded to some port in the East, according to circumstances.

The advantage of a place of refreshment in South Africa was obvious, and as early as 1613 enterprising individuals in the service of the East India Company drew the attention of the directors to the advisability of forming a settlement in Table Valley. Still earlier it was rumoured that the king of Spain and Portugal had such a design in contemplation, with the object of cutting off thereby the intercourse of all other nations with the Indian seas, so that the strategical value of the Cape was already recognised. The directors discussed the matter on several occasions, but their views in those days were very limited, and the scheme seemed too large for them to attempt alone.

In their fleets were officers of a much more enterprising spirit, as they were without responsibility in regard to the cost of any new undertaking. In 1620 some of these proclaimed King James I sovereign of the territory extending from Table Bay to the dominions of the nearest Christian

prince. The records of this event are interesting, as they not only give the particulars of the proclamation and the reasons that led to it, but show that there must often have been a good deal of bustle in Table Valley in those days.

On the 24th of June 1620 four ships bound to Surat, under command of Andrew Shillinge, put into Table Bay, and were joined when entering by two others bound to Bantam, under command of Humphrey Fitzherbert. The Dutch had at this time the greater part of the commerce of the East in their hands, and nine large ships under their flag were found at anchor. The English vessel *Lion* was also there. Commodore Fitzherbert made the acquaintance of some of the Dutch officers, and was informed by them that they had inspected the country around, as their Company intended to form a settlement in Table Valley the following year. Thereupon he consulted with Commodore Shillinge, who agreed with him that it was advisable to try to frustrate the project of the Hollanders. On the 25th the Dutch fleet sailed for Bantam, and the *Lion* left at the same time, but the *Schiedam*, from Delft, arrived and cast anchor.

On the 1st of July the principal English officers, twenty-one in number,—among them the Arctic navigator William Baffin,—met in council, and resolved to proclaim the sovereignty of King James I over the whole country. They placed on record their reasons for this decision, which were, that they were of opinion a few men only would be needed to keep possession of Table Valley, that a plantation would be of great service for the refreshment of the fleets, that the soil was fruitful and the climate pleasant, that the natives would become willing subjects in time and they hoped would also become servants of God, that the whale fishery would be a source of profit, but, above all, that they regarded it as more fitting for the Dutch when ashore there to be subjects of the king of England than for Englishmen to be subject to them or any one else. “Rule Britannia” was a very strong sentiment, evidently, with that party of adventurous seamen.

On the 3rd of July a proclamation of sovereignty was read in presence of as many men of the six ships as could go ashore for the purpose of taking part in the ceremony. Skipper Jan Cornelis Kunst, of the *Schiedam*, and some of his officers were also present, and raised no objection. On the Lion's rump, or King James's mount as Fitzherbert and Shillinge named it, the flag of St. George was hoisted, and was saluted, the spot being afterwards marked by a mound of stones. A small flag was then given to the natives to preserve and exhibit to visitors, which it was believed they would do most carefully.

After going through this ceremony with the object of frustrating the designs of the Dutch, the English officers buried a packet of despatches beside a stone slab in the valley, on which were engraved the letters *WJ*, they being in perfect ignorance of the fact that those symbols denoted prior possession taken for the Dutch East India Company. On the 25th of July the Surat fleet sailed, and on the next day Fitzherbert's two ships followed, leaving at anchor in the bay only the English ship *Bear*, which had arrived on the 10th.

The proceeding of Fitzherbert and Shillinge, which was entirely unauthorised, was not confirmed by the directors of the East India Company or by the government of England, and nothing whatever came of it. At that time the ocean commerce of England was small, and as she had just entered upon the work of colonising North America, she was not prepared to attempt to form a settlement in South Africa also. Her king and the directors of her India Company had no higher ambition than to enter into a close alliance with the Dutch Company, and to secure by this means a stated proportion of the trade of the East. In the Netherlands also a large and influential party was in favour of either forming a federated company, or of a binding union of some kind, so as to put it out of the power of the Spaniards and Portuguese to harm them. From 1613 onward this matter was frequently discussed on both sides of the

Channel, and delegates went backward and forward, but it was almost impossible to arrange terms.

The Dutch had many fortresses which they had either built or taken from the Portuguese in Java and the Spice islands, and the English had none, so that the conditions of the two parties were unequal. In 1617, however, the kings of France and Denmark sent ships to the eastern seas, and there was a possibility that one or other of them might unite with Holland or England. Accordingly each party was more willing than before to make concessions, and on the 2nd of June 1619 a close alliance was entered into. The English Company was to bear half the cost of offensive and defensive operations in the Indian seas, and was to have one-third of the trade of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboina, the remaining eastern commerce to be free for each party to make the most of.

The rivalry, however,—bordering closely on animosity—between the servants of the two Companies in distant lands prevented any agreement made in Europe being carried out, and though in 1623 another treaty of alliance was entered into, in the following year it was dissolved. Thereafter the great success of the Dutch in the East placed them beyond the desire of partnership with competitors.

While these negotiations were in progress, a proposal was made from Holland that a refreshment station should be established in South Africa for the joint use of the fleets of the two nations, and the English directors received it favourably. They undertook to cause a search for a proper place to be made by the next ship sent to the Cape with relief for the returning fleet, and left the Dutch at liberty to make a similar search in any convenient way. Accordingly on the 30th of November 1619 the assembly of seventeen issued instructions to the commodore of the fleet then about to sail to examine the coast carefully from Saldanha Bay to a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles east of the Cape of Good Hope, in order that the best harbour for the purpose might be selected. This was done, and an opinion was

pronounced in favour of Table Bay. In 1622 a portion of the coast was inspected for the same purpose by Captain Johnson, in the English ship *Rose*, but his opinion of Table Bay and the other places which he visited was such that he would not recommend any of them. The tenor of his report mattered little, however, for with the failure of the close alliance between the two companies, the design of establishing a refreshment station in South Africa was abandoned by both.

Perhaps the ill opinion of Table Bay formed by Captain Johnson may have arisen from an occurrence that took place on its shore during the previous voyage of the *Rose*. That ship arrived in the bay on the 28th of January 1620, and on the following day eight of her crew went ashore with a seine to catch fish near the mouth of Salt River. They never returned, but the bodies of four were afterwards found and buried, and it was believed that the Hottentots had either carried the other four away as prisoners or had murdered them and concealed the corpses.

This was not the only occurrence of the kind, for in March 1632 twenty-three men belonging to a Dutch ship that put into Table Bay lost their lives in conflict with the natives. The cause of these quarrels is not known with certainty, but at the time it was believed they were brought on by the Europeans attempting to rob the Hottentots of cattle.

An experiment was once made with a view of trying to secure a firm friend among the Hottentots, and impressing those people with respect for the wonders of civilisation. A savage named Cory was taken from the Cape to England, where he was made a great deal of, and received many rich and valuable presents. Sir Thomas Smythe, the governor of the East India Company, was particularly kind to him, and gave him among other things a complete suit of brass armour. He returned to South Africa with Captain Nicholas Downton in the ship *New Year's Gift*, and in June 1614 landed in Table Valley with all his treasures. But Captain

Downton, who thought that he was overflowing with gratitude, saw him no more. Cory returned to his former habits of living, and instead of acting as was anticipated, taught his countrymen to despise bits of copper in exchange for their cattle, so that for a long time afterwards it was impossible for ships that called to obtain a supply of fresh meat.

It has been seen what use the Portuguese made of convicts when they were exploring unknown countries, or when there were duties of a particularly hazardous or unpleasant nature to be performed. The English employed criminals in the same manner. In January 1615 the governor of the East India Company obtained permission from the king to transport some men under sentence of death to countries occupied by savages, where, it was supposed, they would be the means of procuring supplies of provisions, making discoveries, and creating trade. The records in existence—unless there are documents in some unknown place—furnish too scanty material for a complete account of the manner in which this design was carried out. Only the following can be ascertained with certainty. A few days after the consent of the king was given, the sheriffs of London sent seventeen men from Newgate on board ships bound to the Indies, and these were voluntarily accompanied by three others, who appear to have been convicted criminals, but not under sentence of death. The proceeding was regarded as “a very charitable deed and a means to bring them to God by giving them time for repentance, to crave pardon for their sins, and reconcile themselves unto His favour.” In June the fleet arrived in Table Bay, and nine of the condemned men were set ashore with their own free will.

In one of the ships of this fleet Sir Thomas Roe, English envoy to the Great Mogul, was a passenger. A pillar bearing an inscription of his embassy was set up in Table Valley, and thirty or forty pounds weight of stone which he believed to contain quicksilver and vermilion was taken

away to be assayed in England, but of particulars that would be much more interesting now no information whatever is to be had from the records of his journey.

Again, in June 1616, three condemned men were set ashore in Table Valley, and a letter signed by them is extant, in which they acknowledge the clemency of King James in granting them their forfeited lives, and promise to do his Majesty good and acceptable service.

There may have been other instances of the kind, of which no record is in existence now. How the criminals lived, what effect their residence had upon the native clans, and how they died, must be left to conjecture. The fate of only a very few is known. These made their way back to England, and were there executed for fresh offences.

No further effort was made by the English at this time to form a connection with the natives of South Africa, though their ships continued to call at Table Bay for the purpose of taking in water and getting such other refreshment as was obtainable. They did not attempt to explore the country or to correct the charts of its coasts, nor did they frequent any of its ports except Table Bay, and very rarely Mossel Bay, until a much later date. A few remarks in ships' journals, and a few pages of observations and opinions in a book of travels such as that of Sir Thomas Herbert, from none of which can any reliable information be obtained that is not also to be drawn from earlier Portuguese writers, are all the contributions to a knowledge of South Africa made by Englishmen during the early years of the seventeenth century. Though our countrymen were behind no others in energy and daring, as Drake, Raleigh, Gilbert, Davis, Hawkins, and a host of others had proved so well, not forgetting either the memorable story of the *Revenge*, which Jan Huyghen van Linschoten handed down for a modern historian to write in more thrilling words, England had not yet entered fully upon her destined career either of discovery or of commerce, the time when "the ocean wave should be her home" was still in the days to come.

V.

FRUITLESS SEARCH FOR SILVER MINES.

THE power of the Portuguese in the East was irrecoverably broken, and their possessions were falling one after another into stronger hands, but the individual who was most affected by the change could not, or did not, realise the extent of his loss. That individual was Philippe, the third of Spain, the second of Portugal, who among his numerous titles still retained that of Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India. Perhaps he did not know of all the disasters that had overtaken his subjects, for he heard nothing except through the ears of the duke of Lerma, and that all-powerful favourite was not the man to point out that his empire was crumbling away, or to suggest any efficient means of preserving what still remained of it.

Accordingly in the royal orders to the viceroys of India, which commenced with the phrase "I the king," instructions were given in as lofty language as if Philippe was still really lord of the East and in receipt of an ample revenue. With regard to the coast of South-Eastern Africa, a hundred and fifty—a little later raised to three hundred—soldiers were to be stationed at Mozambique, the fortifications of Sofala were to be thoroughly repaired and provided with a garrison, forts were to be constructed at the different mouths of the Zambesi to protect the entrances of that river, Tete and Sena were to be made secure, and a fleet of armed vessels was to be kept cruising up and down the coast, so as to make the whole line impregnable. But where were the men and the ships and the money to come from? That question could not

be answered, and thus matters remained in the most wretched condition imaginable.

On the 21st of March 1608 the king wrote to Dom João Froyas Pereira, count of Feira, then viceroy of India, that Sebastião de Macedo and Dom Estevão d'Ataide, successively captains of Mozambique, had sent specimens of silver ore to Lisbon so rich as to yield two-thirds of their weight pure metal. The exact locality where the ore was obtained was unknown, but it was believed to be at Chicova, on the southern bank of the Zambesi some distance above Tete. The king therefore ordered the viceroy to send a force of five hundred men under Sebastião de Macedo, Dom Estevão d'Ataide, or some other suitable person, to search for the mines and take possession of them. In addition to the fortifications and garrisons already mentioned, four strongholds, which Dom Estevão d'Ataide had represented as necessary to secure the country, were to be built and occupied, namely one each at Chicova, Masapa, Bukoto, and Luanze. No ground except the actual mines was to be taken from the natives, nor was the government of the Monomotapa over his people to be interfered with in any way. The general in command of the expedition was to have supreme control in South-Eastern Africa, and upon his arrival was to appoint a new captain of Mozambique, who was to command the garrison and town in subordination to him.

The time was opportune for such an enterprise, as the principal Kalanga tribe had for some years been engaged in civil war, and the Portuguese had acquired considerable influence in the country. In 1597, when Nuno da Cunha was captain of Mozambique, a powerful tribe on the border, under a chief named Tshunzo, made war upon the Monomotapa, and sent two strong armies into his territory. One of these, under the induna Kapampo, marched as far as Masapa, but retreated on learning that an immense Kalanga force under Ningomosha, the Monomotapa's general in chief, was rapidly approaching. In retreating, Kapampo laid the country along his line of march utterly waste, so that Ningomosha was unable to follow

him. The Monomotapa of the time, Gasilusere by name, was addicted to the use of dacha, and was otherwise a cruel, passionate, faithless tyrant. Though Ningomosha was in no way to blame for what had occurred, and was the next in rank to himself in the tribe, he caused him to be put to death for having failed to overtake Kapampo, and by this act raised against himself a large section of the people.

The other division of Tshunzo's force, under the induna Tshikanda, marched to within a short distance of the great place, and there made peace with the Monomotapa on condition of being permitted to retain possession of the district it was then occupying. Two years later, however, the war was renewed, when Tshikanda robbed some slaves who were trading for their Portuguese masters, upon which the inhabitants of Tete and Sena joined the Monomotapa against him. They were seventy-five in number, and took with them about two thousand Kaffir warriors, the whole force being under the command of Belchior d'Araujo, captain of Tete. Tshikanda was found within a lager, surrounded by about thirty thousand Makalanga. He had only six hundred warriors with him, but he had made as light of his opponents as a cat would of so many mice, attacking them by day and night and slaughtering many of them. The Portuguese approached the lager under cover of wickerwork screens carried before them, and shot so many of those within that Tshikanda offered to surrender on condition that the lives of his people should be spared. The Makalanga would not agree to this, so that night the besieged band attempted to cut its way through them, and Tshikanda and a few of his followers escaped. At dawn next morning the Portuguese entered the lager, and found a considerable amount of spoil. They then returned to their homes, after having obtained from the Monomotapa, in recompense of their services, permission to carry arms wherever they should travel in his country, a privilege they had not enjoyed before.

The defeat of Tshikanda, instead of restoring peace to the Kalanga tribe, brought on civil war, for the party that resented

the death of Ningomosha, being no longer apprehensive of danger from a foreign foe, rose in revolt against the drunken and ferocious Monomotapa. They gained some successes, but when a few Portuguese under the leadership of Francisco da Cunha, captain of the Gates, went to the Monomotapa's aid, they lost heart and fled to the territory of a chief who was supposed to be friendly to their cause. This chief, however, instead of receiving them as they had anticipated, seized their leader, cut off his head, and sent it to the Monomotapa. By this act another of the rebel commanders, a man of great energy and ability, named Matuzianye, became the head of the insurgents, and he carried on the war so skilfully that in a few years he was master of nearly the whole country.

The Monomotapa was in a sore plight when a Portuguese trader named Diogo Simões Madeira, who had been some time resident at Tete, volunteered to assist him. This man raised a small company of Europeans armed with arquebuses, with whose assistance the legitimate Kalanga ruler recovered a large part of his territory. As a reward to his Portuguese friend for such valuable service he made him a present of the district of Inyabanzo adjoining the lands subject to Tete, with sovereign rights over the people residing in it. Further, on the 1st of August 1607, being encamped on the bank of the river Mazoe, he attached his mark to a document formally drawn up by the notary Miguel Nunes, in which he ceded to the king of Portugal all the mines of gold, copper, iron, pewter, and lead in his country, on condition that the king should maintain him in his position. All silver mines he granted to Diogo Madeira, who in the same document transferred them to the king. Under his name on the deed of gift the Monomotapa with his own hand made three crosses, and the document was signed as principals by Miguel Nunes and Diogo Simões Madeira. As witnesses the signatures were attached of the friar João Lobo, vicar of Luanze, the friar Manuel de São Vicente, chaplain of the force, and twenty-four other Portuguese, in addition to the marks of several who could not write.

As a proof of good faith the Monomotapa delivered to Diogo Madeira two of his sons, in order that they might be educated at Tete and brought up as Christians, and he promised to give two of his daughters for the same purpose. Shortly after this event the principal army of the insurgents was defeated in a pitched battle, and the Monomotapa regained possession of his great place. The Portuguese then returned to Tete, taking with them the two young chiefs,—the daughters were never given to them,—and the country was apparently again in a condition of peace. The sons of the great chief were maintained in the house of Diogo Madeira, and having received instruction from the Dominican friars were baptized with the names Philippe and Diogo. The elder of the two, Philippe, then returned to his father, but Diogo remained at Tete, where he was taught to read and write as well as to assist the friars in the services of the church.

A year passed away, and the Monomotapa collected his army again to attack the rebels who had not submitted. The tribe under Mongasi had hitherto maintained neutrality, but he now fell upon that chief and caused him to be killed. Thereupon the Mongasis effected a junction with Matuzianye, and at once the tide of success turned. The Monomotapa's forces were defeated, and in a short time he was reduced to the greatest straits. Matuzianye then invaded Inyabanzo, but was driven back by Diogo Madeira, who built a strong lager and stationed twenty arquebusiers and three hundred Kaffir warriors in it. It was hardly completed when messengers arrived from the Monomotapa, urgently begging for assistance. The great chief had just been defeated by Matuzianye in a battle in which he had been wounded himself and his eldest son had been killed. Diogo Madeira sent out a party that found the distressed fugitive, and escorted him to the lager at Inyabanzo, where he remained three months under the protection of the Portuguese. Then he removed to Tshidima, farther up the southern bank of the Zambesi, where he would be within easy reach of European aid should his enemies

attack him again. Surely romance furnishes nothing more strange than the hereditary chief of the largest and most advanced tribe of Southern Africa depending for existence upon the favour of a European adventurer with barely a couple of score of arquebuses at his command.

This was the state of affairs when the king's orders concerning the search for the silver mines were issued. The count of Feira, to whom they were addressed, died while they were on the way out, and the friar Dom Aleixo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, was acting as governor-general of Portuguese India when they arrived. He could not carry them out completely, but he did what was possible by appointing Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, an officer of energy and ability, captain general of the Conquest, and giving him a hundred soldiers to accompany him to South-Eastern Africa. In March 1609 the captain general arrived at Tete, and at once sent thirty soldiers to act as a bodyguard to the Monomotapa. Having made the necessary arrangements, he directed Diogo Madeira to proceed to Tshidima in command of the remaining seventy soldiers and two thousand Kaffirs of Tete, and instructed him to deliver a valuable present to the Monomotapa, whom he was to persuade to accompany the expedition to Chicova and point out the silver mines. The Monomotapa consented to this arrangement. On the way the chief of the clan that occupied Chicova met the party and presented three small pieces of silver ore to the Portuguese leader, but he and his attendants disappeared immediately afterwards, and on arriving at the place neither the Monomotapa nor any one else was able to point out a mine. Still it was believed that if the fugitive chief and his people could be captured they would be able to do so, and therefore it was resolved to suppress the insurrection as a preliminary measure.

After a stay of eighteen days at Chicova the Portuguese army with all the warriors the Monomotapa could collect marched against Matuzianye, and in a series of engagements inflicted such losses upon him that he was at length com-

pelled to take refuge with a few followers on a strong mountain. The Portuguese, however, met with some reverses as well. At Bukoto they were defeated, and for a short time that station was occupied by the enemy. When at length Matuzianye's adherents were completely dispersed Diogo Madeira left ten soldiers as a bodyguard with the Monomotapa, who was then at his great place, and with the remainder of his force he returned to Tete, taking with him several men of rank who were directed by the chief to transfer the silver mines to the captain general. Shortly after this Matuzianye was treacherously assassinated by an agent of the Monomotapa, and organised opposition to the authority of the legitimate ruler entirely ceased throughout the country, though some robber bands still held out in the mountains.

In the meantime Ruy Lourenço de Tavora had arrived at Goa as viceroy, and had appointed Dom Estevão d'Ataide captain general of the Conquest. Dom Estevão had arrived at Sena, and Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira had gone down the river to meet him and transfer the government. Diogo Madeira therefore proceeded to Sena with the Monomotapa's envoys, and introduced them to the new captain general, at the same time reporting all that had occurred. But now a great change took place in the attitude of the Kalanga deputies. Their tribe was once more united, and they felt themselves strong enough to resist the little party of Portuguese to whom they had been so submissive while Matuzianye was alive and in rebellion. They therefore put on a bold face, and demanded the merchandise which each new captain of Mozambique had been obliged to send to the Monomotapa on entering office. Dom Estevão d'Ataide made large promises, but gave no cloth. He sent the Kalanga deputies back to Masapa with Diogo Carvalho and fifty soldiers, who built a stockade or strong lager there, and occupied it as a garrison. A robber band, consisting of the most determined of the late rebels, was in possession of a mountain stronghold close by, so the Monomotapa sent an army to encamp in the neighbourhood, in expectation that the Portuguese

would assist to destroy it. The robbers attacked Masapa twice, and caused some loss, but Carvalho was not to be drawn from his fort.

As Dom Estevão's promises were not fulfilled, the Monomotapa grew weary of waiting for the merchandise which his envoys had asked for, and ordered a general empata, or confiscation of Portuguese property, throughout his country. Several traders were killed in resisting it, and even Diogo Madeira, who was on a bartering expedition at the time, although he had performed such eminent services for the great chief, was robbed of all his goods and barely escaped with his life. Diogo Carvalho, on learning what was taking place, formed an alliance with the robbers in his neighbourhood, and together with them fell upon the Kalanga camp one night and created great havoc in it. He then abandoned Masapa and retired to Tete, leaving no Portuguese in the interior of the Monomotapa's country.

Dom Estevão d'Ataide now resolved upon war with the Kalanga tribe. The force under his command, consisting of only one hundred and twenty-five soldiers, was altogether too puny for such an undertaking, but he hoped to obtain the aid of the clans that had been recently in rebellion as well as of the tribes along the Zambesi that were the hereditary enemies of the Monomotapa. He shifted his headquarters from Sena to Tete, and sent Diogo Carvalho two days' journey farther up the river to build and occupy a fort to be called Santo Estevão. This was just accomplished when a complete break in the proceedings occurred. It was reported in Lisbon that a fleet of unusual strength was about to leave Holland for India, so on the 10th of October 1611 the king issued instructions that the captain general of the Conquest was at once to reinforce the garrison of Mozambique, which then consisted of only twenty-five soldiers. In consequence of this order, in March 1612 Dom Estevão was obliged to leave Tete with all his force, and seven months elapsed before he could return. Diogo Madeira, who had received from the viceroy the appointment of captain of Tete

for life, remained behind with the permanent residents of the place, but they, though assisted by their Bantu subjects and by the people of the district of Inyabanzo, could do nothing more than defend themselves against the army which the Monomotapa sent to attack them.

In 1612 reinforcements of troops arrived at Mozambique from Portugal, and Dom Estevão d'Ataide was enabled to return to the Zambesi. But the king was becoming dissatisfied with the want of progress in conquest or discovery, and he found fault with the terms on which the viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora had engaged the captain general. To the new viceroy, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, he wrote that his predecessor had no authority to promise high honours and favours to Dom Estevão in the event of his being successful, and he directed that the agreement with him should be annulled. Dom Estevão was to proceed to India, leaving the direction of military matters in the hands of Diogo Simões Madeira, who was made a member of the order of Christ and was granted a small annual pension, besides being confirmed in possession of the district of Inyabanzo and promised the rank of a nobleman should he succeed in discovering and opening the silver mines. He was not, however, to have the position of captain general of the Conquest, as Ruy de Mello de Sampayo, who had a claim to the captaincy of Mozambique under the former condition of affairs, was to have the civil administration and independent command of Fort São Sebastião given to him with a monopoly of the commerce south of the Zambesi on the usual terms.

Ruy de Mello de Sampayo was not in India when this order arrived, so the viceroy appointed his own brother Dom João d'Azevedo captain of Mozambique for one year, and recalled Dom Estevão d'Ataide. Nothing of any consequence had been done since his return to Tete, and in July 1613 Dom Estevão laid down the command and set out for India, but died at Mozambique on the way, leaving property in gold, ivory, &c. worth one hundred and ten thousand cruzados, which the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto, who had

been sent from India to conduct the usual examination into his conduct, placed in safe keeping.* It was subsequently confiscated for the benefit of the royal treasury, and was used to pay for repairing the fortifications of Mozambique. The death of Dom Estevão saved him from the punishment often inflicted upon the unsuccessful, whether they were guilty of misconduct or not. On the 8th of March 1613 the king wrote to the viceroy to have him arrested and tried for furthering his own interests at Tete instead of proceeding with the conquest and for having taken to the Zambesi a hundred and fifty disciplined soldiers from Fort São Sebastião and left in their stead only forty or fifty recruits, whereas he was under obligation to maintain at Mozambique two hundred soldiers and to employ five hundred in the expedition in search of the mines. If he was found guilty of these offences he was to be sent to Portugal a prisoner in chains. This was the fate designed by the king for the man who had so gallantly defended Mozambique against the Dutch, but who had failed to carry out an engagement to raise an army when men were not to be had.

Diogo Madeira with the slender force under his command now undertook the enterprise in which two officers of superior rank and authority had failed. On the 10th of August 1613, having received transfer of the soldiers and a trifling quantity of military stores, he left Sena to proceed up the river in boats, but had hardly set out when he encountered opposition. There was a clan living close to Sena under a chief named Tshombe, who during the recent disturbances had come under the protection of the Portuguese, and had agreed to pay as tribute a certain quantity of millet yearly. Seeing the weakness of his protectors now that the civil war in the country was ended, this man was disposed to assert his independence, and when the new commander called upon him to

* The chronicler of these events in one place incidentally states that eighteen maticals of gold were equal to nearly thirty cruzados, so that this amount would represent about £29,500. Whenever the cruzado of King Sebastião is meant it is termed a cruzado d'ouro.

pay his tribute and to surrender some fugitive slaves whom he was harbouring, he refused to comply. He even attempted to prevent the flotilla passing up the river until a toll was paid to him, but was defeated in an engagement, and the boats proceeded onward.

As it was necessary to keep open the communication by the Zambesi with the sea, on his arrival at Tete Diogo Madeira raised as large an army as he could to proceed against Tshombe. It consisted of one hundred European and mixed breed arquebusiers and six thousand Bantu warriors from the lands of Tete and Inyabanzo. With these he marched down the river bank and attacked his opponent, who was found entrenched in a very strong lager and well supplied with means of defence. The attack failed, and all the men that could be collected at Sena, consisting of forty arquebusiers and three thousand Kaffirs under a friendly chief named Kwitambo, were then summoned to assist. Again an attempt to take the lager by storm was unsuccessful, so it was besieged for over two months in the hope of starving the defenders. In an assault on the 16th of November some advantage was gained, and that night Tshombe and a few of his followers made their way through the blockading force and escaped. On Sunday the 17th of November the Portuguese obtained possession of the lager, and secured as spoil some ivory and loincloths of native manufacture, besides eight thousand adults and as many children, who were made slaves. Fifty soldiers were left in the lager to prevent its being reoccupied, and Tshombe was pursued until nearly all of his warriors were slain. The territory he had occupied was then given to Kwitambo, who engaged to pay tribute for it, and Diogo Madeira with his army returned to Tete.

Here he was gladdened by a message from the Monomotapa that if he would pay the quantity of merchandise usually given by those entering office he might take possession of Chicova in peace. Goods to the value of four thousand cruzados were at once forwarded, and in return a man of rank was sent by the Kalanga ruler to transfer the

district supposed to contain the silver mines. Accordingly, on the 15th of April 1614 Diogo Madeira left Tete with a hundred soldiers, six hundred Bantu warriors, and a number of slaves carrying stores, and on the 8th of May reached Chicova, where he set about building a fort or stockaded enclosure which he named São Miguel. The envoy of the Monomotapa was with him, but could not point out a mine, and the chief of the locality fled as soon as the object of the expedition became known. On being applied to, the Monomotapa sent a piece of silver ore weighing about half a pound, and with it a man named Tsherema, who had found it at Chicova; but Tsherema could only point out loose pieces of ore, not a mine. Diogo Madeira caused him to be beaten and imprisoned, but to no purpose, for he was never able to show his tormentors what they so much desired to see.

The northern bank of the Zambesi opposite Chicova was occupied by an independent chief named Sapoe, who professed to be a friend of the Portuguese. He gave them permission to trade freely in his country, and offered them a road through it to Tete. Diogo Madeira availed himself of this, and a path was explored on the Bororo side of the river past the rapids of Kebrabasa to navigable water. With Sapoe's consent a stockade, named Santo Antonio, was built and occupied opposite São Miguel, so that the ferry was completely under Portuguese control. Fort Santo Estevão farther down on the southern side was destroyed, as there were no men to occupy it.

Being without means either to explore the country or even to feed those who were with him, as no aid of any kind had yet reached him from Portugal or India, on the 24th of June Diogo Madeira was compelled to leave for Tete and Sena, taking with him nearly the whole of his people. During his absence Diogo Teixeira Barros, with forty-four soldiers and some slaves, was entrusted with the defence of the stockades São Miguel and Santo Antonio. On arriving at Sena, instead of finding the assistance he was hoping for,

Madeira received instructions from the king that he must send the soldiers brought by Dom Estevão d'Ataide back to Mozambique, as that island was in danger of being attacked. In consequence of this order thirty were despatched in a pangayo, all that could be mustered, as some had died and the others were at Chicova. Nothing could illustrate better than this event the exhausted condition of Portugal at the time.

The captain still hoped that a supply of merchandise would be sent from India to enable him to carry on his work, so he resolved to keep the Monomotapa in good humour by means of presents and to engage every resident along the river that would enter his service. He therefore sent the great chief a silken banner, a gold head ornament, and a small quantity of cloth, with a complimentary message; but as the whole was of trifling value it was regarded with contempt by the Kalanga ruler, who imprisoned the men that took it to him and made a demand for a number of articles that he named. To obtain these Diogo Madeira was obliged to compel such inhabitants of Sena as were in possession of goods to sell them to him on credit without any prospect of payment being ever made, and thus he created enemies when he sorely needed friends. The Monomotapa, however, appeared to be appeased, and released his prisoners, so Madeira set out on his return to the stockade São Miguel with all the men and stores he had been able to collect.

Meantime Barros found himself in great difficulties at Chicova. He was so badly in want of food that he was compelled to take it by force from the natives, which naturally aroused their enmity. Then the son of the Monomotapa who had been baptized with the name of Philippe having displeased his father fled to Fort São Miguel and claimed protection. This was given to him, upon which the Monomotapa sent an army to destroy the stockade. On the 18th of March 1615 it was attacked, but was successfully defended until the 20th, when Diogo Madeira arrived at

Santo Antonio with the reinforcements he had collected, and while he was crossing the river with them the hostile army withdrew.

There was now a small band of Portuguese with a considerable number of slaves, having provisions for only a few months, in an advanced stockade in an enemy's country. A line of retreat was open by crossing the river and marching down its northern bank past the rapids, and then recrossing to Tete. There defence for a long time was possible, as a strong Bantu force could be raised from the subject clans and in the district of Inyabanzo, and in case of necessity the river would furnish conveyance to Sena and the sea. Under these circumstances Diogo Madeira decided to remain where he was until aid could reach him from Portugal or India. He sent the young chief Philippe to Tete, and provided for his maintenance there, as his friendship might be of importance at some future time. He then made as thorough a search as was possible in the vicinity of the stockade, and though nothing that could be called a mine was discovered, the prisoner Tsherema pointed out a place where several loose pieces of rich silver ore were picked up, some weighing many pounds.

To send specimens of these to Lisbon and to Goa, and thus to create such an interest in the undertaking as would cause sufficient assistance to be sent to him, was now the first object of Diogo Madeira. This was not so easy of accomplishment as might be supposed. It was believed that the jealousy of Ruy de Mello de Sampayo, who in 1615 became captain of Mozambique,* would be aroused by the

* The following are the principal clauses of the contract entered into with him by the government at Lisbon, dated 17th of March 1614. His three years term of office was to commence on the day that he took formal possession of the fortress. He was to pay annually 40,000 xerafins of 300 reis each (about £7,500). All the expenses of the forts constructed for the defence of the trade, including the pay of the troops necessary for that purpose, were to be defrayed by him. The ordinary expenses of the fortress of Mozambique and of the hospital at that place were to be defrayed by him, but were to be deducted from the 40,000 xerafins, and the balance

intelligence, and that the specimens would probably never get beyond that island except as coming from him. To meet this difficulty Gaspar Bocarro, a faithful friend of Diogo Madeira, volunteered to go overland to some port high up on the eastern coast, and thence by way of the Red sea and the Mediterranean to Portugal. He was an old inhabitant of the country, and as he was wealthy he offered to perform this service at his own cost and in addition to contribute two thousand cruzados towards the maintenance of Fort São Miguel during his absence. At the same time the Dominican friar Francisco d'Avelar offered to go to India and Portugal by way of Mozambique, trusting that his habit would protect him from interference on the way.

In February 1616 the two envoys set out, each taking with him a quantity of silver ore and attested certificates that it had been found at Chicova. The friar reached Goa in safety, and after delivering a report to the viceroy, proceeded to Lisbon and thence to Madrid, where the specimens and documents which he produced caused great satisfaction to the king and the court.

Gaspar Bocarro, who was an experienced African traveller, took with him ten or twelve slaves to carry the specimens of ore, a quantity of beads, some calico, and a thousand bracelets of copper wire. With this merchandise he procured food, guides, and porters, and so made his way without difficulty from Tete to the southern extremity of Lake Nyassa. He crossed the Shire—called the Nhanha in his journal—in canoes close to its outflow from the lake,* and

was to be sent to Goa. He was not to be present, personally or by representative, when the duty of one per cent was being levied on his merchandise. All the usual presents to the chiefs of the interior were to be sent by him, at the proper times, at his own cost. He was to take over his predecessor's stock of goods. He was to have the sole right to trade upon the banks of the rivers Zambesi and Sofala (the whole country southward being included). He was authorised to seize and appropriate any merchandise taken into the country without his permission.

* This journey of Gaspar Bocarro does not detract in the least degree from the merit of the reverend Dr. Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyassa.

proceeding upward between the eastern side of Nyassa and the coast, was ferried over other rivers named the Ruambara and the Rofuma. Part of the country on his route was found still a desert waste, as it had been left by the Mazimba. On the fifty-third day after his departure from Tete he reached Kilwa, where he procured a conveyance to Mombasa. Here he found it would be impossible to go up the Red sea, on account of wars then being carried on in those parts, so with much regret he went to Mozambique and thence returned to the Zambesi.

While the envoys were on their way Diogo Madeira tried to make the best of matters at his stockades. He dared not go far from São Miguel, but in its vicinity more pieces of silver ore were found, which were sent down to Tete and exchanged for calico, so that he was able for a time to obtain provisions. In January 1616 he had been joined by the Dominican friar João dos Santos, who had petitioned to be sent from India to South-Eastern Africa as soon as he heard that the Monomotapa Gasilusere had consented to two of his sons being educated as Christians. His experience, he thought, might even be instrumental in converting the Monomotapa himself. His provincial consented, and the king ordered his expenses to be defrayed by the royal treasury and that he should be employed on some official mission to the Monomotapa that would add to his dignity and influence. Dos Santos was an old man when he reached the Zambesi again, and he must have been bitterly disappointed with the turn affairs had taken. He was, however, as full of zeal as in his younger years, and when a message reached him at Sena that the departure of Francisco d'Avelar would leave the defenders of the stockade São Miguel without a spiritual

The great missionary traveller first saw the outflow of the Shire on the 16th of September 1859, two hundred and forty-three years after Bocarro was at the same spot. But the account given here was then buried in the Portuguese archives, and was entirely unknown to any one. Besides though it is easy now to follow Bocarro's route from his description of it, it would have been impossible to do so before Dr. Livingstone's minute description of the country was published.

comforter, he did not hesitate, but proceeded up the river to the lonely post to minister to them and to share their discomforts.

Some time before the friar Francisco d'Avelar reached Goa with the specimens of silver ore, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo had received bitter complaints from the traders whose merchandise Diogo Madeira had practically seized by force, and also from the residents of Mozambique concerning similar conduct by the captain Ruy de Mello de Sampayo. The viceroy, therefore, by the advice of the council of state, appointed the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto a commissioner to investigate matters in South-Eastern Africa, and gave him very large powers to settle disorder of every kind. He was also supplied with calico and beads for the expedition under Diogo Madeira, in case he should think it proper to assist that enterprise. The judge was accompanied by one of his friends named Salvador Vaz da Guerra. He arrived at Mozambique in March 1616, where he summarily dismissed Ruy de Mello de Sampayo from office, and appointed Da Guerra in his stead. He then went on to the Zambesi, and arrived at Quilimane in May.

By this time the garrison of Fort São Miguel was reduced to great distress. The summer had been so intensely hot that for weeks together to touch a stone exposed to the sun's rays caused the skin to blister, and sickness had prevailed to an alarming extent. Most of the able-bodied slaves had run away, those who remained could not venture outside the stockade, and so great was the scarcity of food that if not relieved the place must soon be abandoned from hunger. There were only forty-four soldiers left to guard it. As soon therefore as Diogo Madeira heard that a commissioner with extensive powers had arrived at the rivers he wrote urging that assistance should be forwarded without delay, but received no reply.

Instead of sending at least some calico that food might be purchased with it, the judge passed a couple of months at Sena and Tete, exchanging the merchandise he had brought

from India for gold and ivory. He was able to do this to unusual advantage, as for two years in succession the trading vessels from Mozambique had been lost, and calico and beads were in great demand. He listened to all the complaints against Diogo Madeira, and without a trial confiscated his property at Tete and made his nephew a prisoner. On the 1st of August 1616 he left Tete for Chicova with a hundred and fifty soldiers and two thousand Kaffirs, but when he was within a day's march of Fort São Miguel Diogo Madeira, fearing to place himself in the power of a man who had acted in so hostile a manner, crossed the river to the stockade Santo Antonio, though he left the soldiers behind. On learning this, the judge at once returned to Tete.

All hope of retaining the position at Chicova was now abandoned. The soldiers had parted with their shirts for food, and were half naked as well as more than half starved. Mass was said for the last time in the little structure used as a church, and then Dos Santos with a heavy heart stripped the altar of its ornaments and removed whatever could be taken away. Some slave women and children were first ferried over to Santo Antonio, the soldiers followed, and last of all Diogo Madeira himself bade farewell to the stockade he had held so long in hope of relief being sent to him. It was the 17th of August 1616. On the 18th Santo Antonio was in like manner abandoned, and the party commenced to march down the bank of the river. The soldiers were so weak that two of them died before they reached the ferry below the rapids. Diogo Madeira retired to his district of Inyabanzo, where he remained for a time, and the others went to Tete.

The judge now pronounced the discovery of silver ore at Chicova to be a fable, as the pieces found had probably been carried there from some other place, and he induced the soldiers to sign a document to that effect. Diogo Madeira he proclaimed an outlaw. The Monomotapa, who had already destroyed the abandoned stockade São Miguel, sent an army against the unfortunate captain, and he was obliged to leave

Inyabanzo and take refuge with the chief Kwitambo near Sena until the judge returned to Mozambique, when he went back to Tete an utterly ruined man. The Kalanga army overran Inyabanzo and the territory subject to Tete, until nothing was left to the Portuguese but the fort and the village adjoining it, and even these might have been lost if the residents had not appeased the Monomotapa with presents.

The government at Lisbon disapproved of these proceedings, and instructions were sent to the viceroy to cause the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto to be tried by the inquisitor general of India for his conduct, to restore Ruy de Mello de Sampayo to the captaincy of Mozambique for the time wanting to complete his term of three years, and to place Diogo Madeira again in his former position, with means necessary to carry out his enterprise. In accordance with these instructions, in January 1618 some calico was sent from India, and when it reached Sena Diogo Madeira endeavoured to raise and equip another expedition. A few soldiers arrived from Mozambique to take part in it, but before anything of consequence could be done a complete change was made.

It was first resolved to form a separate government of South-Eastern Africa, as in the time of King Sebastião, and a new viceroy of India was appointed and left for Goa under this arrangement; but on the 10th of March 1618 the king wrote to him that the plan had been abandoned. Instead of it a governor of Monomotapa was appointed, who was to reside at Chicova and carry out the conquest of the district in which the mines were situated. Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, then commander in chief at Ceylon, was the officer selected for the situation. He was to take with him the seasoned troops at Mozambique, whose places were to be supplied by recruits sent from Lisbon, and the viceroy was directed to aid him with trustworthy officers, soldiers, sailors, materials of war, and provisions, at the expense of the treasury of India. Skilled miners and smelters were to be

sent from Portugal and also from India to search the country and develop its mineral wealth. Commerce was to be carried on by the royal treasury, and was to be under the control of Antonio de Maris Lobo, who was appointed overseer of the revenue of Monomotapa. Towards defraying the cost of all this, twenty-two thousand cruzados would be sent from Lisbon, with which merchandise was to be purchased and sent to the Zambesi, there to be used in providing for the conquest. The viceroy was to furnish presents for the Monomotapa and other rulers in the country. Dom Luis de Menezes, or in his default Dom Alvaro da Costa, was to be appointed commander of the garrison of Mozambique, subordinate to the governor of Monomotapa, as the captain of Sofala was also to be. Diogo Simões Madeira was to be retained in favour, and was to be induced to assist in carrying out the conquest.

These instructions are a fair sample of those commonly sent by the king to India at this period. They were written as if almost unlimited resources were at the disposal of the viceroy, whereas it was frequently a matter of the greatest difficulty for him to meet the most essential expenses of his government. The royal orders therefore do not represent what was really done, or what could possibly be done, but merely what the viceroy, without any means to carry them out, was directed to do. In 1618 Portuguese India had not resources equal to effecting an extensive conquest in South-Eastern Africa, even if it could have been done with two hundred soldiers, as an enthusiastic writer, Diogo da Cunha de Castelbranco, believed it might be, provided sufficient calico was supplied for presents to the chiefs.

In February 1619 Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira reached Goa from Ceylon, and soon afterwards sailed for Mozambique with as many men and as good an equipment as the viceroy could furnish him with, though both were inadequate for the task he had in hand. Pangayos were procured at the island, the men and stores were transferred to them, the seasoned troops in Fort São Sebastião were embarked, and the expedition left for the Zambesi. The details of events after its arrival

cannot be given, as the reports and journals of occurrences have disappeared, and Bocarro's chronicle does not extend so far. But it succeeded no better than its predecessors, and no silver mine was found nor was a square yard of ground added to the Portuguese dominions by it.

In January 1620 two vessels were sent from Lisbon with supplies of different kinds for the expedition, and with instructions to Dom Nuno to fortify the entrances to the Zambesi, as the Dutch coveted the mines of Monomotapa and might at any time endeavour to get possession of them. This order could not be carried out for want of means. The Dutch frequently landed at places along the coast and traded with the natives, chiefly for provisions, and it was out of the power of the Portuguese to prevent them doing so; but at this time they made no effort to occupy any part of South-Eastern Africa.

Two years later it was recognised in Portugal that the expedition was a failure, and that the expense of maintaining it was too great a drain upon the treasury to be continued. The trade too, as conducted by the government, had resulted only in loss. With the ships that left Lisbon early in 1622, therefore, instructions were sent by the king to the viceroy to recall Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira* to India and to desist from any further attempt to effect a conquest in the Monomotapa's country. Everything was to revert to the former condition, when the captains of Mozambique, under the direction of the viceroy, had control of civil and military affairs, and held a monopoly of commerce south of the Zambesi on payment of forty thousand cruzados a year to the royal treasury and keeping up the different establishments.

Nuno da Cunha was appointed captain under this system.

* This officer evidently thought something could be made in Africa, for a few years later he petitioned the king to grant him on feudal tenure four hundred leagues of coast from Inhambane towards the Cape of Good Hope, of which he and his heirs should be hereditary captains. The petition was under consideration for a time, but eventually was rejected. We shall meet him again as captain of Mozambique.

He was directed to persevere in the effort to discover the silver mines, but by means of peaceful exploration and conciliation of the Monomotapa. For this purpose not only were the presents made to that ruler according to ancient custom to be forwarded to him, but two horses with equipments and some fine cloth were to be added. Further two Portuguese who were particularly obnoxious to him were to be banished from the country. The knowledge and diligence of Diogo Simões Madeira, who had conducted himself in such a manner as to deserve favour, were to be made use of, and in addition to the often repeated promise of the rank of a nobleman was now added that of a commandery with a revenue of two thousand cruzados a year if he should succeed in finding the silver mines and bringing them into working order. The new captain was to make enquiries about the mines from which the copper used by the Makalanga was obtained, and to ascertain whether they could be acquired and worked to advantage.

The order that the captain of Mozambique should use every effort to make these discoveries was frequently repeated during the following years. Diogo Madeira persevered in the endeavour, and though in 1624, owing to certain proposals that he made, he fell into disfavour with the viceroy, who intended to have him arrested and sent out of the country, the king continued to hold out tempting offers to him if he should succeed. But silver mines, if any really existed along the Zambesi above Tete, were never discovered by the Portuguese, nor was it ascertained whether the loose pieces of ore which beyond all doubt were found at Chicova were there in situ or had been brought from some other locality.

While everything was thus in turmoil along the Zambesi the Dominicans were unable to carry on their mission work among the Makalanga, but they were active at Sena and Tete, and some of them accompanied the Portuguese forces wherever they went. In 1605 they had been reinforced from Europe, and by order of the king those who went out were not permitted to return again unless under special circum-

stances. When the first expedition under Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira was sent from India by the archbishop De Menezes some members of the Society of Jesus accompanied it, but the Dominicans, fearing complications, objected to their rivalry. The king therefore, on the 23rd of January 1610, issued instructions that they alone were to labour in Africa south of the Zambesi, still the Jesuits did not entirely withdraw, and at a little later date they were in considerable strength at Sena. For the support of the Dominicans Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira made considerable grants of land, though as these were still to be conquered their value was purely prospective. From the royal treasury the missionaries received such a trifling allowance that for their maintenance they were chiefly dependent on alms.

The design of King Sebastião half a century earlier concerning the ecclesiastical government of South-Eastern Africa was at this time carried into completion. On the 21st of January 1612 at the request of the king Pope Paul V separated the country from Cape Guardafui to the Cape of Good Hope from the archbishopric of Goa, and created the office of ecclesiastical administrator for it, with powers, however, somewhat less than those of an ordinary bishop. The friar Dom Domingos Terrado, titular bishop of Sale, was appointed to the office, with a yearly salary from the royal treasury of two hundred thousand reis, about £125 sterling. The island of Mozambique, as the seat of the civil and military government, was selected as his place of residence.

At Sofala nothing of any consequence had happened for many years. Being in the territory of the Kiteve and unaffected by occurrences in the Monomotapa's country, commerce could be carried on with the natives just as when the friar João dos Santos lived there. Owing to fear of an attack by the Dutch, in 1615 the fort was put into repair, and thereafter fifteen or twenty soldiers were stationed in it as a garrison. The pangayo with goods from Mozambique once a year formed the principal means of communication with the outer world, though the little vessel that traded at Inhambane

and Delagoa Bay every second or third year sometimes called on her passage up or down the coast. In all the world there could not have been a duller place of existence for Europeans.

The journey of Gaspar Bocarro from Tete to Kilwa had drawn the momentary attention of the king and his court to the country north of the Zambesi, but no steps whatever were taken to form stations in it or to open it to commerce by any other means than before. An order was indeed issued by the king that the captain Nuno da Cunha should endeavour to ascertain whether the lake (Nyassa) would not furnish a road to Abyssinia, but with that order the matter ended. The Portuguese were no longer a nation of explorers.

VI.

EVENTS OF INTEREST FROM 1628 TO 1652.

THE great tribe over which the Monomotapa ruled was about to be involved again in civil war, and the Portuguese traders at Sena and Tete were once more to acquire an influence in the country altogether out of proportion to their number, even if each one be regarded as a chief and his slaves as a clan of followers, which was practically their position. Kapranzine, son and successor of Gasilusere, showed himself most unfriendly to the Europeans. One of his near relatives, whose name is given by different writers as Manuza and Mavura, was possessed of much more intelligence, and had incurred his extreme jealousy. This man, under the instruction of the Dominican friar Manuel Sardinha, showed an inclination towards Christianity, and was therefore made much of by the Portuguese.

In November 1628 Jeronymo de Barros, an agent of Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, who had recently assumed duty as captain of Mozambique, arrived at the great place, bringing with him the present which it was necessary to make to the Monomotapa for the privilege of trading in his territory. Whether the quantity or quality of the merchandise forming the presents was such as to cause Kapranzine to be dissatisfied is uncertain, at any rate immediately after receiving it he sent messengers through the country with orders that upon a certain day all the Portuguese and their friends were to be put to death. André Ferreira, the captain of the Gates, who happened to be at the great place when this order was issued, was informed of it by some faithful servants,

and that night with the Bantu who were threatened he managed to get away to Masapa, where the stockade constructed by Diogo Carvalho was hastily prepared for defence. De Barros and his attendants were murdered, as they were unable to escape. Messengers were immediately sent out by Ferreira to warn the traders scattered over the country, and in a very short time all the Christians and their adherents—including Manuza—were collected either at Masapa or at Luanze, where another rude fort was built.

The Monomotapa despatched a great force against these places, but as the defenders fought desperately for their lives, the assailants were beaten back. Several Europeans, however, fell. Meantime the Portuguese at Sena and Tete, having received intelligence of what was transpiring, assembled their people and raised an additional force of Batonga, at whose head they marched to Luanze to assist their countrymen. The defenders of the stockade were relieved, and then by advice of the friars in the camp a very decisive step was taken. Manuza was proclaimed Monomotapa, the banner of the cross was raised, and the army, having elected a man named Manuel Gomes Serrão commander in chief, marched against Kapranzine. The two forces met, and Kapranzine was defeated.

The baffled Monomotapa retired deeper into the country, and raised a still larger army, with which he returned and twice attacked the Christian camp, but on each occasion was beaten back. Then Manuza took possession of the zimbabwe, or great place, and was acknowledged as paramount chief by most of the surrounding clans.

On the 24th of May 1629 a document was drawn up, in which the new Kalanga ruler acknowledged himself a vassal of the king of Portugal. He promised to allow the missionaries to build churches and make converts anywhere in his country, to receive ambassadors without obliging them to go through humiliating ceremonies, to treat the captain of Masapa with great respect and to admit him to an interview at any time without a present, to open his country freely to

commerce, to protect traders, and not to shelter fugitive slaves. He undertook not to alienate gold mines to powerful chiefs, to allow mines of all descriptions to be sought for and worked by the Portuguese, and especially to enquire where silver was to be found, to inform the captain of Masapa of the places, and to allow the Portuguese to dig for it without any impediment. He engaged also to expel all the Mohame-dans from his country within a year, and to permit the Portuguese afterwards to kill them and confiscate their property. He surrendered his claim to the lands at one time subject to the captain of Tete, and bound himself to send three pieces of gold to every new captain of Mozambique.

The whole army was drawn up, and the document having been read, Manuza was asked by the captain Serrão if he agreed to these conditions. Naturally he replied that he did. The friar Luis do Espirito Santo then wrote under it "Manuza, Emperor of Monomotapa," to which with his own hand he affixed a cross. Then followed the signatures of Manuel Gomes Serrão, chief captain in the war, Friar Gonçalo Ribeiro, vicar of Masapa, and sixteen other Portuguese. But it matters little with what formality the document was attested. It is evident that it was of very little value, for its terms—whether committed to writing or merely verbal—would be observed as long as Portuguese assistance was needed, and not a day longer.

A little later, eight months after he had been raised to the chieftainship, Manuza consented to profess Christianity openly, and was baptized with as much pomp as possible by the friar Luis do Espirito Santo, vicar of Tete. He received the name Philippe, which Portuguese writers thereafter used when mentioning him.

The government at Madrid regarded the document to which he had affixed his mark as of equal validity with an agreement between two European powers. In the opinion of the king the time had at last arrived when the mineral wealth of the Kalanga country was at his disposal, and pompous orders were issued to the viceroy of India to take

measures for the discovery and opening up of the gold, silver, and copper mines. He was also to build a stronghold in the best place to keep the Monomotapa in submission, and the old instructions were repeated to fortify the mouths of the Kilimane and the Luabo. As the Monomotapa was now a vassal, the presents formerly made for the privilege of carrying on commerce would no longer be required, and the money thus saved, together with the amount obtained for the lease of the islands of Angosha, could be used in defraying the cost of the fortifications. The three pieces of gold received as tribute were to be sent to the king, who would make a present to the Monomotapa in return. That potentate was to be invested with the order of Christ, and permission was given to him to trade in cloth on his own account to the value of three or four thousand maticals of gold.

These instructions were issued by the king in April 1631. But matters were not yet settled in the Kalanga country, and thus, even if he had possessed the means in men and money to carry them out, the viceroy was unable at the time to do anything. Manuza, after occupying the great place and receiving the homage of a number of clans, neglected to watch Kapranzine closely, and the result was a sudden surprise, in which nearly the whole of the Europeans and halfbreeds in the country and a great number of Bantu were killed, and the friars Luis do Espirito Santo and João da Trindade were made prisoners. The last named was badly wounded, but the barbarians subjected him to torture, and finally before he was quite dead threw him over a precipice where he was dashed to pieces. Luis do Espirito Santo, who was a native of Mozambique, was taken into Kapranzine's presence, and was ordered to make the usual obeisance. This he refused to do, as he said that to such homage God alone was entitled. He was then bound to the trunk of a tree, and stabbed with assagais till life was extinct. All the Bantu who were made prisoners were likewise put to death.

Kapranzine appeared now to be master of the situation. Many of the clans that had submitted to Manuza went over

to him, and the few Portuguese that remained—only twenty at Sena, thirteen at Tete, five at one trading station, and six and a Jesuit father at another—were too disheartened at the moment to attempt anything. The Tshikanga also, ruler of Manika, declared in favour of Kapranzine, and sent an army to support him.

Diogo de Sousa e Menezes was then captain of Mozambique, Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira having died. He called out every man that could carry an arquebus, and sailed with them to the Zambesi, where he raised a large force of Bantu warriors from those living on the island of Luabo. Having brought the disturbed districts adjoining Sena into subjection, he marched to Manika, where he overthrew the unfriendly Tshikanga, put him to death, and raised one of his brothers, who made a profession of Christianity and was baptized, to be chief as a vassal of Portugal. In the mean time the friar Manuel Sardinha, a man of great force of character, had got together an army of twenty thousand men, chiefly from the tribes along the Zambesi who were at feud with the Makalanga, and who were willing therefore to espouse the cause of Manuza. The two forces joined and marched against Kapranzine. The friar who was the chronicler of these occurrences relates that when they were setting out Philippe—as Manuza was called—looked up and saw a resplendent cross in the sky. Thereupon he sent for the father Manuel Sardinha, who was not with him at the time, but who also saw the cross on joining him. It was similar to that which appeared before the emperor Constantine, except that there were no words beneath it.

It may have been that some fleecy white clouds drifting across the deep blue African sky appeared to the heated imaginations of the friar and the Kalanga chief to assume the form of a cross, for it is not likely that a deliberate untruth was placed on record by the Dominican missionary who reported this event. Be that as it may, the apparition is said to have given such courage to the whole body of warriors, all of whom saw it, that they marched on with the

greatest confidence. On the feast of Saint John the two armies met, and a tremendous battle was fought, in which, according to the account of the Portuguese captain, the saint himself appeared and assisted the Christian cause. A brilliant victory was won, the carnage being so great that no fewer than thirty-five thousand of the enemy were slain. It will not do to be certain about the number of the killed, but the defeat of Kapranzine and his flight are assured facts.

Much booty in women, children, and cattle was obtained. Kapranzine's son of highest rank, a young boy, was among the prisoners. He was sent to Goa, where he was entrusted by the viceroy to the Dominican fathers, by whom he was baptized with the name Miguel, and educated and maintained by the royal treasury.

The hostile Monomotapa, however, was not utterly overthrown. He had still the support of a very able chief named Makamoasha and many others of less note, and he gave a great deal of trouble before the war was ended. It must be remembered that no force supplied by the Portuguese government, other than a few men from Mozambique, was in the field. The contest was between two members of the ruling family of the Kalanga tribe for the paramount chieftainship, and the weaker of the two was aided by a little band of Portuguese missionaries and other residents in the country. But these few white men and half-castes were able to turn the scale in favour of the chief whose cause they adopted, because they could obtain the service of warriors of other and braver tribes who would follow them out of a desire to wash their assagais in Kalanga blood, and because they could procure firelocks and gunpowder. In the final battle, which ended in complete victory for Manuza, as many as two hundred men on his side were armed with Portuguese weapons.

The Dominican friars regarded the contest as a holy war, for it was certain that if Kapranzine was successful their work in the Kalanga country would cease. The part taken by Manuel Sardinha has been related. Another friar, Damião

do Espirito Santo, was equally active in raising men, and it was by a force of six thousand robust warriors brought into the field by him that Philippe—or Manuza—was at length firmly secured in the position of Monomotapa. The Portuguese laymen and the mixed breeds served their own interests when aiding him, because by that means alone was it possible for them to continue there as traders. Their position at this time was better than at any previous period since the first occupation of the country, for Kapranzine, though in very reduced circumstances, was still alive, and Manuza, being dependent on them, was obliged to bestow whatever favours they chose to ask. The former trading stations were reoccupied, and new ones were established at Matuka, Dambarare, Chipiriviri, Umba, and Chipangura, situated in different parts of the country.

The Dominican missionaries also were able to extend their work greatly. A commencement was made with the erection of a church at Manuza's place of residence, in recognition of the help which he had received from the Almighty against his opponent, and the chief himself laid the foundation stone in presence of a great assembly of people. The friar Aleixo dos Martyres took up his residence there, and nine others of the same order came from Goa and were stationed at various trading places. The vicar general, Manuel da Cruz, removed from Tete to Matuka in the district of Manika, in order to be in a more central position. At Luanze a neat church was built, but at the other trading stations it was only possible to construct buildings of wattles covered with clay.

The Dominicans were naturally affected by the prostration of the wealth and power of Portugal, but they had a reserve force which supported them for a time. The most intelligent and energetic individuals in the kingdom, looking with despair upon the apathy and feebleness that had taken hold of the great mass of their countrymen, sought refuge in convents, where a life of activity and usefulness was still open to them. General poverty alone prevented these institutions being more generally resorted to. At a little

later date considerable numbers of Asiatics and Africans were admitted into the Dominican order, under the mistaken idea that they would be able to exert more influence in their respective countries than Europeans could, and then a failure of energy set in; but during the first half of the seventeenth century most of the missionaries south of the Zambesi were white men.

There were complaints against some of them that they were practically traders, but as a whole they worked zealously for the conversion of the Bantu, though at times they suffered even from want of food. Their observations upon the people among whom they were living are highly interesting. They state, for instance, that the Makalanga did not object to a profession of Christianity, but could not be induced to follow its precepts, especially in the matter of not taking more wives than one. The slight regard in which chastity of females was held surprised them, and they were particularly astonished that the men seemed almost indifferent to the misconduct of their wives. They noticed too that in war the men did not scruple to shield themselves behind their women, just as the Basuto often did in our own times in their conflicts with the Orange Free State. Seeing these things, they set their hopes chiefly upon the children, whom they took great pains to instruct.

A better opportunity than ever before was now offered to search for mines, and rich specimens of several metals were forwarded to Lisbon. In none of the records still preserved and available for use, however, is there any trace of the ancient underground workings having been discovered. To assist in the search a few miners were sent out at the cost of Dom Philippe Mascarenhas, though he protested against the charge as not being mentioned in his contract, and because he was then giving as much for the monopoly of commerce south of the Zambesi every year, namely forty thousand pardaos, as his predecessors had given for their whole term of office, besides maintaining the garrison of Mozambique, defraying all other expenses connected with the administra-

tion, and paying twenty per cent customs duties on the merchandise he imported from India.

The government at Madrid was of course highly elated with the prospect of wealth, and the most fantastic schemes were devised for opening up the country. Colouisation even was to be undertaken on a large scale. Thus, on the 24th of February 1635 the king wrote to the viceroy that two hundred soldiers and two hundred families of colonists would be sent from Portugal that year to settle along the Zambesi, and that others would follow with every fleet. They were to be accompanied by physicians, surgeons, women and girls from charitable institutions, and mechanics of all kinds, even to a gun founder. More Dominican and Jesuit missionaries would also proceed to the country, as well as some Capuchins. Two hundred mares would be sent, that horse-breeding might be carried on. A large quantity of artillery and other material of war would also be forwarded. On reading documents like this, so absurd do they appear from the condition of Portugal at the time, that one is inclined to doubt whether they were really intended to be serious state papers, or whether they merely represented the day dreams of children. At any rate the whole scheme came to nothing.

At the same time the viceroy was directed to have the search for mines carried on diligently, and to change the method of government of South-Eastern Africa. He was to appoint a governor of Monomotapa, subordinate to himself, and a castellan of Mozambique, subject to the governor. The system of carrying on trade was also to be altered. For a long time the king and his court had been endeavouring to devise some means of recovering the commerce of India from the English and Dutch, and in 1629 and following years an effort had been made to form a powerful Company for the purpose, in which the national treasury was to be the principal participant, and the cities of Portugal and India, as well as individuals, were to be shareholders. There was to be a chamber in Goa to manage local matters, but the controlling power was to be vested in a board of directors at

Lisbon. The effort to form such a Company, however, had failed; and now the king instructed the viceroy to throw open the commerce of South-Eastern Africa to all his subjects upon payment of customs duties. This order for some unknown reason was not carried into execution.

The subject of fortifications was also dealt with. In 1632, owing to a report that the English were fitting out an expedition to survey the East African coast, the king announced that a couple of small vessels would be sent from Lisbon to Sofala with men and munitions of war to protect that place, and that the outgoing fleet would convey reinforcements to Mozambique. It had become a custom to employ convicts in oversea service, so that by emptying the prisons a few men could be had at any time. But Sofala remained without a garrison, notwithstanding this announcement. A couple of years later an engineer named Bartholomeu Cotão was sent with a few assistants from Lisbon, some Indian carpenters were despatched from Goa, and at last a small fort of stakes and earth was constructed at Kilimane. This was the most that could be done, but in the king's letter of the 24th of February 1635 the viceroy was instructed to fortify Sofala strongly and station a garrison of two hundred soldiers there, and also to cause the mouths of the Zambesi to be well protected with defensive works. Such instructions, it must be repeated, were altogether illusory.

A report upon the condition of the country at this time, to be found in manuscript in the library of the British Museum, is particularly interesting, from the care which was taken in its preparation. It was drawn up in 1634 by order of the count of Linhares, viceroy of India, by his secretary Pedro Barreto de Rezende, who had visited the places he describes, and it was submitted for revision to Antonio Bocarro, keeper of the archives at Goa, before it was sent to King Philippe III of Portugal.

Sofala is described in it as having a square fort of stone thirty feet in height, with circular bastions at the corners,

and nine small pieces of artillery on the walls. It was without other garrison than the captain and his servants, and had no stores either of provisions or materials of war. In the village adjoining it three married and two single Portuguese resided, who with their slaves and a few mixed breeds were its only defenders in case of war. The fort and village were on an island at high tide, formed by the river and a broad trench, as shown in the plan accompanying the description; but at low tide the trench was dry. A Dominican friar resided in the village, but there were very few Christian natives. The only commerce carried on was in ivory and ambergris. The Kiteve, in whose dominions the fort was situated, had ten or twelve thousand warriors at his command, but was in general friendly to the Portuguese, and on payment of the usual quantity of merchandise allowed them to trade in freedom and safety.

Sena was a much more important place, though the old fort was out of repair and almost destroyed. There were thirty married Portuguese and mixed breeds in the village, who owned a large number of slaves, and there were no fewer than four churches, with religious of the Dominican order and the Company of Jesus. The principal building was the factory, which was under a tiled roof. It was a great warehouse, in which the goods of the captain of Mozambique were stored, and where merchandise was sold wholesale to the traders who traversed the country. There were two dwelling houses under tiles, all the others being thatched. Along the river up and down were great tracts of land, occupied by fully thirty thousand natives, that had been assigned to individual Portuguese, who, however, did not derive much benefit from them, as most of the Bantu were disobedient. This system was in accordance with feudal ideas, the persons to whom the districts were assigned having extensive powers wherever the natives were submissive, but being themselves vassals of the captain of Sena. Among the owners of districts in this way was the Dominican order, whose claim was confirmed by the king in 1638.

At Tete there were twenty married Portuguese residents and a few halfbreeds, all living within a kind of fort, which consisted of a wall seven or eight feet high with six bastions, on which a few small pieces of artillery were mounted. They had many slaves under their control. Adjoining Tete were lands occupied by about eight thousand Bantu, parcelled out among individual Portuguese, like those connected with Sena.

Scattered over Manika and the country of the Monomotapa were numerous so-called forts, which were really only palisaded enclosures or earthen walls, occupied by traders and their servants. At most of these Dominican friars also resided, who occupied themselves with the conversion of the Bantu. By the king's orders this field was open to them alone, though the Jesuits, who occupied Kilimane and the country to the northward, were permitted to have an establishment at Sena, and often evaded the command and stationed missionaries with the Makalanga. By a royal order the Dominicans were entitled to tithes in the country south of the Zambesi. The Jesuits had a large estate assigned to them on the island of Luabo, between two mouths of the great river, which was regarded as being within their sphere of action. The only soldiers in the whole country were thirty men who accompanied the Monomotapa wherever he went, nominally as a body-guard to protect him and add to his dignity, really, it may be believed, to keep watch upon his movements.

There were still a good many Mohamedans scattered about, and they were regarded by the Portuguese as in general irreconcilable enemies. Those on the island of Luabo were said to be behaving well, but those in the Monomotapa's territories had aided Kapranzine, and after his defeat were reduced to abject circumstances. It had not been found possible to expel them.

The only courts of law open to Portuguese subjects in the country south of the Zambesi at this time were those of the captains of Sofala, Sena, and Tete. These officials were appointed by the captain of Mozambique, who selected them

from the circle of his friends more to promote his interests in trade and to ward off hostilities with the natives whenever they could do so, than with an eye to their qualifications as magistrates. Under these circumstances it cannot be supposed that justice was at all times administered. There was, however, a right of appeal from the sentences of the captains to the judge at Mozambique, which may have prevented gross abuses.

This is the picture of Portuguese South Africa given by the most competent writer of his day, and certainly it differs greatly from that presented by the royal despatches.

Some wrecks which took place on the South African coast during these years furnish matter of sufficient interest to be preserved in history. That of the *São João Baptista* in 1622, and those of the *Nossa Senhora da Atalaya* and the *Sacramento* in 1647, have been referred to by me at sufficient length in a chapter upon the Xosa tribe in another volume; but two others remain, the narratives of which may here be given.

On the 4th of March 1630 the *São Gonçalo*, commanded by Captain Fernão Lobo de Menezes, sailed from Goa for Lisbon. On the passage she became leaky, and in the middle of June put into Bahia Ferosa—Plettenberg's Bay as now termed—in a sinking condition; to be repaired. For this purpose some of her cargo was landed, and more would have been, if the officers had not shown themselves quarrelsome and incompetent for their duties. Some of the crew took up their residence on shore, but the greater number remained on board. Fifty days after her arrival in the bay the ship was lying at anchor off the mouth of the Pisang river when she was struck by a storm and driven ashore, one hundred and thirty-three persons perishing in the wreck. The captain, five friars, and about a hundred men were on land at the time, and fortunately they were able to collect a quantity of provisions and a good supply of carpenter's tools when the storm ceased. In anticipation of being obliged to remain there until the change of the monsoon in September

or October, they had made a garden, from which they obtained such vegetables as pumpkins, melons, onions, and cucumbers. From the bay they drew supplies of fish, and from the Hottentots, who were very friendly, they bartered a number of horned cattle and sheep for pieces of iron. They were thus enabled to put by much of the rice that had been landed before the wreck and such food in casks as drifted ashore, while they were building two large boats in which to make their escape.

The captain was old and feeble, so with his consent they elected Roque Borges to be their commander. There was plenty of good timber in the forest close by, and as much iron as they needed was obtained from fragments of the ship. For tar they used benzoin, recovered from the cargo, and mixed with the oil of seals, which they killed in great numbers on an islet off the mouth of the river. Having plenty of food they lived in comparative comfort, and they were not forgetful of the worship of God, for they built a chapel in which religious services were frequently held. Eight months passed away before the boats were completed and ready for sea. When all was prepared for sailing the friars erected a wooden cross on the site of their residence, and a rude inscription was engraved on a block of sandstone, recording the loss of the ship and the building of the pinnaces. Part of this stone was removed some years ago from the summit of a hill a little to the eastward of the mouth of the Pisang river, and is now in the South African Museum in Capetown.

Some of the people wished to proceed to Angola, others thought it would be better to return to Mozambique, so the two boats steered in opposite directions. The one reached Mozambique safely, the other after a few days fell in with the homeward-bound ship *Santo Ignacio Loyola*, and her people were received on board. But these were less fortunate than the others, for they perished when near their homes by the loss of the ship that had apparently saved them.

The wreck of the *Nossa Senhora de Belem* was in many respects similar to that of the *São Gonçalo*. Where every one, as in Goa at that time, regarded bribery and corruption as the natural means of acquiring wealth, even a ship could not be sent to sea in a condition fit for a long passage. She would be repaired with rotten timber, her caulking would be defective, her rigging and stores would be of an inferior description. Thus the *Nossa Senhora de Belem*, commanded by Captain Joseph de Cabreyra, sailed from Goa for Lisbon on the 24th of February 1635 shorthanded and quite unfit for navigation in stormy seas. As usual, a large proportion of those on board were negro slaves.

The ship soon became so leaky that it was with the greatest difficulty she could be kept afloat, and when she reached the South African coast the only hope of saving the lives of those on board was in running her ashore. Somewhere north of the mouth of the Umzimvubu river—the exact spot cannot be made out—she lay almost water-logged close to the coast, when a boat was got out, and the captain landed with a few men to look for a place where she could be beached with the least danger. Night came on, and some natives appeared, who attacked the little party, but they were easily driven away. In the morning those on board, fearing every moment that the ship would go down with them, waited no longer for the captain's signal, but ran her ashore, and fortunately for them she held together, so that no lives were lost.

Two hundred and seventy-two individuals, among whom were five friars, were now safe on land. For seventeen days they were engaged in getting provisions, tools, and other articles out of the wreck; then by an accident, either from the party that had been on board during the day having left a candle burning or a fire in the stove, she caught alight and the whole upper part was consumed. This, however, turned out to be an advantage rather than a misfortune, as an abundance of nails and other iron was now easily obtained from the charred timber.

There was much difference of opinion as to the best course to be pursued, but at length they agreed to build a couple of small vessels and try to get to Angola. There was a river close by that offered a favourable site for a shipyard, and plenty of timber was to be had in the neighbourhood, so on the 20th of July they set about the task. Soon afterwards they were cheered by the appearance of a cabra, that is the son of a mulatto by a black woman, who called himself a Portuguese, and in broken language told them that his name was Antonio and that he had been wrecked in the *Santo Alberto* and left there by Nuno Velho Pereira's party that went to the north more than forty years before, when he was a boy. He was now wealthy and a man of influence. He was accompanied by a chief with a band of attendants, with whom an agreement of friendship was made. Through Antonio's influence and assistance no fewer than two hundred and nineteen head of cattle were obtained in barter for pieces of iron, which not only furnished plenty of fresh meat for the time being, but abundance of biltong, or strips of dried flesh, for provisioning the boats. After a time the shipwrecked men suspected Antonio of hostility, and there was some trouble with the natives; but their wants had then been supplied, and they were too strong to be attacked.

Six months were occupied in building and fitting out the vessels, which were decked and of such beam that they could carry the whole of the people. They were provisioned with eighty small bags of rice and a quantity of biltong. On the 28th of January 1636 they sailed from the river, but found the weather rough on the coast, and during the second night after leaving one of them disappeared and was not seen again. The other, in which was Captain De Cabreyra, put into Algoa Bay on the passage, and forty-eight days after leaving the river reached Bengo Bay, close to the town of São Paulo de Loanda, with her provisions exhausted and without a drop of fresh water left. There, just in time, those on board were rescued from death by starvation and thirst, and soon afterwards they dispersed to different parts of the world.

In 1640 the revolution in Portugal took place which elevated the eighth duke of Bragança to the throne as King João IV. Margarida, duchess of Mantua, was then governing Portugal for Philippe III—the 4th of Spain,—and her court was almost entirely composed of Spanish grandees, who treated the Portuguese nobles with such disdain as to rouse their passion. The people were discontented, and attributed the poverty and distress they were suffering to the Castilian yoke which lay heavy upon them. Though under the same head for sixty years, they had never fraternised with the Spaniards, and the loss of their most valuable eastern possessions, which had been the result of the political union of the two countries, was ever in their minds.

The time was opportune for a revolution. The Catalans were in insurrection, and France could be depended upon to favour anything that would weaken the power of Spain. A number of Portuguese noblemen then conspired to eject the hated dynasty. On the 1st of December 1640 they seized the palace and forts in Lisbon and the Spanish armed ships in the Tagus, and made the duchess of Mantua a prisoner. A few of the Castilian officials were killed in the first moments of the rising, but most of them were merely placed in safe confinement. The duke of Bragança, though timid and half reluctant, had then no option but to ascend the throne, for he was the legitimate heir of the ancient kings, and his life would not have been worth a week's purchase if Philippe should recover his authority. On the 15th of December he was crowned in the cathedral of Lisbon, and the cortes, which met as soon as possible, unanimously took an oath of allegiance to him on the 19th of January 1641. The whole country declared in his favour, the Spanish garrisons were expelled, and Portugal again took her place among the nations of Europe as an independent power. War with Spain followed as a matter of course, but João IV found powerful allies among the northern rulers, his people sprang to arms, and he was able to preserve the throne on which his descendants sit to this day.

In India tidings of the successful revolution were received with the greatest joy. The silly orders of the Castilian monarchs sent through the regency at Lisbon, and the affectation of boundless wealth and numberless men being at the disposal of the viceroy, must have disgusted the officials everywhere. From the new monarch they had reason to expect instructions dictated by common sense, and indeed in his first letters to the viceroy he spoke plainly of his empty treasury and of the necessity there would be of observing the strictest economy in every part of his dominions. Then he was their own countryman, and blood cements loyalty.

Among the first of foreign powers to recognise him was the Republic of the United Netherlands, and on the 12th of June 1641 a truce for ten years was concluded between the two governments, in which, among other clauses, was one defining the Portuguese possessions in South-Eastern Africa that were thereafter to be respected by the Dutch. They were Mozambique, Kilimane, the rivers of Cuama, Sena, Sofala, Cape Correntes, and the adjacent rivers, by which were meant Inhambane and the bay of Lourenço Marques. This truce was broken a few years later through events that took place in Brazil, but while it was observed it was of much importance to the new king. It gave him sympathy and some practical assistance from the Dutch people in his struggle with Spain, and it freed the eastern possessions that were left to him from fear of attack, of which they had before been apprehensive. The king indeed was led even to hope that some of the ancient conquests, particularly Malacca, might be restored to Portugal. Still he was not without some uneasiness when he reflected upon the defenceless condition of his dominions on the borders of the Indian sea, the activity of the Dutch in that part of the world, and his inability to afford any assistance, owing to his empty treasury. He therefore instructed the viceroy to keep a close watch upon the movements of the Dutch, but to act with the greatest caution, and to avoid everything that might irritate or offend any one.

The measures adopted by the government of King João IV with regard to South-Eastern Africa were not productive of good, however, much as the more honest and sensible tone of his despatches is to be admired. In December 1643 commerce between Portugal and India was declared free and open to all his subjects, with the single exception of the trade in cinnamon, which was reserved as a royal monopoly. This, to Englishmen of the present day, will appear a liberal measure. But there are circumstances when the admission of all persons under the same government to equal commercial rights may prove utterly ruinous to the class that ought to be encouraged most, and it would have been so in this instance in the country south of the Zambesi if the existing contracts with the prospective captains of Mozambique had not prevented its coming into operation for several years, and if in the mean time other measures had not been adopted. This will be dealt with more fully in another chapter.

In 1644 the slave trade between Mozambique and Brazil was opened by individual adventurers with the king's permission and encouragement. In these days such traffic is justly regarded with the greatest horror, but during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not a voice appears to have been raised against it. It certainly was not looked upon as cruel or immoral to remove negroes from an environment of barbarism to a condition of subjection to Christian masters. The system brought upon the lands to which the slaves were taken a terrible and perpetual punishment, which ought to have been foreseen, but was not, or at least was disregarded in the prospect of immediate gain. The proprietors of the *prazos*, or great estates, along the Zambesi had now a new source of wealth opened to them. Hitherto they had regarded the captives obtained in war and reduced to slavery as personal followers, and employed them as traders, soldiers, attendants, and so forth, he who had the greatest number being esteemed as the most wealthy and powerful. The negroes readily fell in with this system, which appeared to them natural and proper; and in general they were found

faithful. It gave them what they needed: some one to think for them, some one to direct and look after them.

But after 1644 all this was changed. The Batonga and Makalanga who were made captives were considered as worth so many maticals of gold a head, and any that the owners did not care to keep were sent to Mozambique for sale, to serve in ships like the less intelligent Makua, or to be conveyed to Brazil to work on plantations, in either case to be severed for life from early associations and companions. As time went on the abominable traffic grew larger and larger, until it became far the most important in money value of all the commerce of the Zambesi basin. There could be no extension of agriculture, no mining, no progress of any kind where it was so extensively carried on.

In 1644 there was a war between the Kiteve and a chief named Sakandemo, in which the Portuguese took part on the side of the former. The result was the defeat of Sakandemo, the baptism of the Kiteve with the name Sebastião, and his promise to regard himself thereafter as a vassal of Portugal. But conversions of this kind, however gratifying to the vanity of the Europeans, and especially of the clergy, were of no real value, and such promises of vassalage by men possessing any real power were not carried into practice.

The sparseness of the European population made the possession of the country extremely insecure, for no troops could be provided to guard it. But how or where could settlers be obtained? Not in Portugal, for there were much more attractive places than South-Eastern Africa before the eyes of the peasantry there. Not voluntarily in India, as had been proved by the viceroy's invitations and tempting offers to migrate having had no effect. And so they were sent involuntarily. After the middle of the seventeenth century what colonisation was effected on the banks of the Zambesi was largely the result of criminals being sentenced by the supreme court at Goa to become residents there. If morality before this had been low, hereafter it sank to a point seldom reached elsewhere by Europeans.

At this time our countrymen began to frequent the coast, as the Dutch, notwithstanding repeated orders to prevent them from trading with the natives, had previously done, and English adventurers soon became a source of much uneasiness to the government at Lisbon. The first difficulty connected with them occurred in 1650, when an English trading vessel arrived at Mozambique. Alvaro de Sousa was then captain, and finding that he could do a profitable business with the strangers, he purchased a quantity of goods from them, hoping that the transaction would never be discovered. When the head of the local government acted in this manner, it may well be believed that the subordinate officials and the residents in the village, who had the right of trading with the Bantu on the mainland, were equally dishonest. The matter came to the knowledge of the king, but the death of Alvaro de Sousa prevented the punishment that would otherwise have been inflicted upon him. Orders were again issued, strictly prohibiting commercial intercourse with strangers, who were to be permitted to take in fresh water and to purchase necessary refreshments, but nothing more.

On the 25th of May 1652 the Monomotapa Manuza—or Philippe—died. He had not renounced Christianity and had always kept on the best terms with the Portuguese, acknowledging himself a vassal of the king, protecting traders, and making numerous grants of prazos to individuals. He could not do otherwise while Kapranzine lived, nor while Kapranzine's son of highest rank, the heir to the chieftainship in the direct line, was practically a prisoner in Goa. This young man had entered the Dominican order, and applied himself most assiduously to study, so that, according to the chronicler, he was by his example the most powerful preacher in the country. In 1670 the general of the order sent him the diploma of Master in Theology, equivalent to Doctor of Divinity, and this man, born a barbarian, heir to the most important chieftainship in Southern Africa, died as vicar of the convent of Santa Barbara in Goa. Fiction surely has no stranger story than his.

Manuza's successor adhered to the old Bantu faith, and in consequence the Dominicans were in much distress, as their work seemed likely to be thrown back seriously. Great was the pleasure therefore which they felt when the new chief, under the teaching of the friar Aleixo do Rosario, announced his conversion, and requested to be baptized. His example was followed by a multitude of the sub-chiefs and others. On the 4th of August 1652 these were all received into the church, the Monomotapa taking the name Domingos and his great wife Luiza. The intelligence of this event created a joyful sensation in Europe. At Rome the master-general of the order caused special services to be held, and had an account of the baptism engraved in the Latin language on a bronze plate. At the Dominican convent in Lisbon there was a grand thanksgiving service, which was attended by King João IV and all his court, for the event was regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of Christianity, as well as a consolidation of Portuguese rule in South Africa.

Such an opinion, however, was altogether erroneous, for in this same year, 1652, the Dutch East India Company formed a settlement in Table Valley, which was destined to have a vastly greater effect upon the southern portion of the continent than the Portuguese occupation of the eastern coast, that had now lasted nearly a century and a half.

VII.

WEAKNESS OF PORTUGUESE RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

KING João IV, the first monarch of the house of Bragança, died on the 6th of November 1656, leaving a son named Affonso, only thirteen years of age, heir to the throne. The queen dowager, a woman of unusual ability and force of character, then became regent, and held that office until the 21st of June 1662, when Affonso VI became king. His sister, Catherine of Bragança, only a few weeks before had been married to Charles II of England. A close connection between the two countries was thus commenced, which was of great advantage to Portugal by giving her assistance in her war with Spain, and which led some years later to important commercial arrangements. For more than a quarter of a century Spain strove to suppress what was termed at Madrid the rebellion of the duke of Bragança, but at length a series of victories gained by the Portuguese with the assistance of their foreign friends made the attempt hopeless, and on the 13th of February 1668 peace was concluded by a treaty in which the independence of Portugal under the sovereigns of her choice was fully recognised. The character of Affonso VI was a compound of imbecility and brutality: he was one of the most worthless individuals that ever sat upon a throne. On the 23rd of November 1667 he was forced into retirement, and his brother Dom Pedro, duke of Beja, became regent. Sixteen years later Affonso died, and the regent then became King Pedro II. The Portuguese regard him as one of the best and most prudent of their sovereigns, though there was nothing particularly brilliant or even enterprising in his nature.

During the seventeenth century a general disintegration of the Bantu tribes between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers was taking place, and individual Portuguese who were possessed of ability, though they were devoid of anything like high morality, were busily engaged in forming new clans under their own control. The process commenced when the legitimate Monomotapa Kapranzine was deposed, and it was furthered when the Tshikanga was defeated and slain. The Batonga along the Zambesi were the first to be influenced by it. They had no affection for the Makalanga rulers, nor had those rulers any attachment for them, so that Portuguese who performed any service for the Monomotapa could readily obtain from him grants of land more extensive than the largest county in England. The people on these lands as a rule submitted to the new head as long as he governed them in accordance with their ideas, and rebelled when he did not, but in the course of a few years his authority was usually firmly established. He was then to all intents and purposes a Kaffir chief, possessing absolute power over his people.

Father Manuel Barreto, superior of the Jesuit college at Sena, reported to the viceroy in 1667 that nearly the whole of the territory in the triangle formed by the river Zambesi, the sea coast, and a straight line drawn from Chicova to Sofala, was thus held by individual Portuguese, though many of its Batonga inhabitants were in rebellion. Some of the prazos, as the districts were termed, were, he said, the size of kingdoms, especially those held by Antonio Lobo da Silva, Manuel d'Abreu, André Collaço, and Manuel Paez de Pinho. The last named had among his subjects the whole of the old tribe of Mongasi. But Kaffir chiefs as they were, these men wished to be considered Portuguese subjects, and were ambitious of holding office and obtaining titles of distinction from the crown. They professed even to hold their prazos from the king under grants for three lives, on payment of quitrent and performing military service with their followers when called upon to do so. The whole of the quitrent, however, that flowed into the royal treasury from this source

amounted to little more than six hundred maticals of gold, or £268 2s. 6d., a year. The holders of the prazos were constantly quarrelling, and at times were even carrying on war with each other, but they were always sufficiently loyal to obey a call to arms from the king's representative. For a long time they formed the sole military force of the government.

Many of them amassed great wealth and lived in a style of barbaric splendour, but they were always exposed to the chances of war, for they had no protection beyond what they could supply themselves. On some of the prazos large buildings were erected, with lofty rooms and thick walls to keep out the heat, and their proprietors were noted for the most profuse hospitality to the strangers and travellers who occasionally visited them. Their tables were spread with vegetables and fruit of almost all varieties, grown in their gardens, with the flesh of domestic and wild animals, the costliest wines of Europe, and imported delicacies of every description. They were waited upon by numerous slaves, never moved from their premises except in a palanquin, and lived altogether in luxurious ease, the condition perhaps most respected by the natives around them. But such people were not colonists, nor did they set an example of morality that was worthy of being followed by their dependents.

After the Batonga territory was thus parcelled out, adventurers sought to get possession of prazos elsewhere, and many were acquired by purchase from the Monomotapa and from his subordinate chiefs. The adventurers did not scruple to use threats and commit acts of violence to obtain what they desired, until the Monomotapa became seriously alarmed. In 1663 he sent a petition to the king to provide him with a bodyguard like that supplied to his predecessor, in order that he might be protected from insult and wrong. The king instructed the viceroy to comply with his request, but after a long delay, in 1668 he replied that he could not do so for want of men. The king also directed that the prazos which had been obtained by violence or by purchase from those

who had no right to sell them should be restored to the Monomotapa, who was a Christian prince; and an officer named Francisco Pires Ribeiro was sent to enforce the order. But the power of the king proved too weak in South-Eastern Africa to carry out a measure like this, which was in conflict with the opinions of the Portuguese landholders. They would not admit that the Monomotapa was a Christian in anything but name, and instead of surrendering the prazos, they declared war against him.

The leader of this movement was a lawless individual named Antonio Rodrigues de Lima, who had previously been guilty of much misconduct. He and his associates got together an army of slaves and other dependents, with which they took the field. The Monomotapa assembled his forces and marched to meet them, but when the armies were near each other, his captains rose in rebellion, murdered him, and submitted to the Portuguese, offering to admit as their head any one whom the white people might choose to appoint. Had he been their legitimate ruler in the right line of descent they would probably have preferred to die for him, but as he was in their eyes only a usurper he could command neither devotion nor respect. The Portuguese thereupon raised a young man of the ruling family to be Monomotapa, expecting him to be a pliant tool in their hands, but he proved an able chief, and found means to make himself respected. To keep him in check, indeed, the government was obliged to send Antonio Lobo da Silva, the most powerful of all the prazo holders, to reside with him as the king's representative.

A condition of things in which mere adventurers, acting without authority from the nominal government, could appoint and depose chiefs of tribes at their will, and could establish themselves as practically independent sovereigns over great tracts of country, can only be described as one of anarchy. Father Manuel de Gouvea, of the Jesuit mission, wrote to the prince regent in 1673 that a military force of two hundred men was needed to restore order and compel

the lawbreakers to respect the rights of others, but the reply was that they could not be sent, as there were no means of meeting the expense. In 1675 a plan was devised in Lisbon which it was hoped might meet the difficulty. This was to send out orphan girls from charitable institutions, to give them prazos as dowries, and upon their marrying Portuguese to appoint their husbands to civil, judicial, and military offices. The eldest daughter was to inherit the estate, upon condition of marrying a Portuguese born in Europe, and in the same manner it was to descend to the next generation. After the death of the third proprietress it was to revert to the crown.

But this scheme could only be carried out on a very limited scale, and in places where the natives had lost all their former spirit. To acquire a prazo in the first instance a man needed knowledge of Bantu habits, a strong will, reckless daring, and power of governing others. He established his right, and his heirs, if they were at all capable, might succeed him. Certainly they never could command such devotion as the ancient hereditary chiefs, because the religious element of loyalty was wanting in their case, but as those chiefs had been displaced, and as the government of a strong man is willingly obeyed by the Bantu under such circumstances, they could remain the heads of clans. It was very different when a stranger, a woman too, was appointed to rule over the people of a district. They would not submit to such an innovation, and therefore the scheme could not be applied in many instances.

The prazos went on increasing until there were no fewer than eighty-five of them. In other words, there were eighty-five Bantu clans under Portuguese, Goanese, or half-breed chiefs, almost constantly at strife with each other. Most of them had native headmen, or petty chiefs, serving under them, through whom their orders were carried out. It was the ancient feudal system of Europe transplanted in Africa, but that system where the king was weakest and the barons most turbulent. There was still a Monomotapa, a Tshikanga,

and a Kiteve, ruling over remnants of once powerful tribes; but the individuals who held these titles were little more than puppets. They were generally regarded with distrust and suspicion, and the slightest offence was sufficient pretext for war against them. The power of the Portuguese in South Africa had never been so great before, but the power of the Portuguese government had never been so small.

In his report to the viceroy in 1667 Father Manuel Barreto described Sena as containing thirty houses occupied by Portuguese and many others occupied by half-breeds. It was the principal place in the country, as the factory to which all the traders resorted was there, and its captain had greater power than any of the others, because with him rested decisions of peace and war. He was appointed by the captain of Mozambique. Tete contained forty houses of Portuguese and mixed breeds. Sofala was almost deserted, and no friar was then residing there. Its trade in gold was only five hundred pastas* a year, whereas nearly three thousand pastas a year were obtained at other places and exported through Kilimane. In the Monomotapa's country there were trading stations, with Portuguese captains, at Dambarare, Ongwe, Luanze, and Chipiriviri, and a captain with a considerable body of followers at the residence of the chief, to keep that barbarian in check. The three captains of Sena, Tete, and Sofala were still the only administrators of justice in the country, but they could be tried by the supreme court at Goa for pronouncing illegal sentences.

There were sixteen places of worship in the country. Of these, six belonged to the Company of Jesus, one—at Sena—was ministered to by a secular priest, and nine belonged to the Dominicans, though they had then only six missionaries in the field. The distribution of these places of worship was,

* The quantity contained in a pasta, or pasteboard case, is uncertain. The word is also used to signify a thin plate of metal, but evidently that is not what is meant here. Probably gold was kept in cases of a particular size, and the expression at the time would convey a definite meaning to those engaged in the trade.

nine in the lands occupied and ruled by Portuguese, two in Manika, and five in the country of the Monomotapa.

Corruption must have been prevalent everywhere, for Father Barreto states that even the office of ecclesiastical administrator at Mozambique was purchased with money. He laid oppression also to the charge of the highest officer in rank in East Africa. Trading privileges with the Bantu on the mainland north of the Zambesi had been granted by the king to the inhabitants of the island of Mozambique, in order to encourage people to settle there, but the captain had deprived them of their rights that he might secure the profit for himself. They were obliged to purchase merchandise from him at his own price, instead of importing it from India, and in the same way they could sell to no one but him.

Father Barreto was an enthusiast, who had day dreams of a great Portuguese empire in Africa, stretching from the Red sea to the Cape of Good Hope. He does not seem to have been aware that the Dutch had formed a settlement in Table Valley, or if he was, he ignored it as an obstacle to the extension of Portuguese authority. He speaks of the cruelty, rapacity, and lawlessness of the holders of the prazos then in existence, and fears that the wrath of the Almighty may be poured out on them for their sins. Yet he advises that they should be employed in conquering their Bantu neighbours, and that the system should be maintained until not only the whole of the mainland south of Abyssinia, but the island of Madagascar as well, was parcelled out in this manner. Then, indeed, there would be an empire surpassing the greatest in Asia. Then the natives could be compelled to wear cotton clothing and to dig for gold, and commerce would flourish and boundless wealth flow into the treasury of the king. As for mission work, it should be carried on with tenfold vigour. Instead of an ecclesiastical administrator, there should be an archbishop at Mozambique, with two or three suffragans and numerous zealous priests. Surely Cortes and Pizarro were more moderate in their schemes of con-

quest with slender resources than this Jesuit missionary at Sena.

As regular troops could not be provided to defend the country, the government at Lisbon was doing all that was in its power to promote colonisation. In 1665 an order was issued that no settler should be allowed to remove without special leave, and this was afterwards stringently enforced. In 1671 the prince regent instructed the viceroy to throw open the commerce of the Rivers to every one as soon as the contract then existing with the captain of Mozambique expired, principally with the object of inducing individuals to take up their residence in South-Eastern Africa, and in the following year this order was repeated, March 1673 being named as the date from which it was to have effect. It was anticipated that the volume of trade would be greatly increased by private competition, because the captains fixed very high prices for selling and very low ones for buying, so that there was little inducement to collect gold and ivory. It was thought also that a larger sum would be realised from customs duties, after all expenses were met, than was paid by the captain for the monopoly, and that the administration could be conducted in a more satisfactory manner.

The viceroy Luis de Mendonça Furtado, however, brought forward many objections to unrestricted trade, and suggested an alternative, which the prince regent left to his discretion to carry out. Accordingly, in 1673 the commerce of South-Eastern Africa was taken over by the state, to be carried on for the benefit of the royal treasury, and to be conducted under the direction of a council at Goa by a board of six members at Sena. It was about as clumsy and expensive a scheme as could well be devised, and it was made still more cumbersome by the conferring of extensive judicial power upon the board at Sena, some of whose members were ecclesiastics. Under the new system all persons employed received salaries, and the civil and military authority were separated. An officer named João de Sousa Freire, with the title of commander in chief, was appointed head of the

military branch of the government, with power to call out the residents in the villages and the holders of prazos with their retainers to perform service in war. One of his first acts was to get ready a force to attack the Monomotapa if the silver mines which were supposed to be known to that chief were not delivered to the Portuguese.

The aspect of affairs along the whole coast was at this time exceedingly gloomy. The weakness of the Portuguese was so apparent that the Mohamedans took courage, and in various places to the north attempted to recover their independence. In 1670 they even attacked Mozambique, and though they did not succeed in getting possession of Fort São Sebastião, they inspired great alarm everywhere. In 1673 Father Manuel de Gouvea, a member of the board of commerce at Sena, wrote to the prince regent that without five or six small armed vessels it would be impossible to trade to the north; but they were not supplied through want of means. Matters at length reached such a pass that the viceroy Luis de Mendonça Furtado, finding his despatches produced no effect, sent the Jesuit father André Furtado to Lisbon to represent that all East Africa must be lost unless a military and naval force to maintain Portuguese authority could be provided. North of the Zambesi the sheik of Pate and other petty rulers were in open rebellion, and south of that river the confusion and disorder caused by the jealousies and strife of the prazo holders were so great that—as one of the viceroy's advisers wrote—obedience to the government was regarded as a mere matter of courtesy.

The court at Lisbon was then compelled to make a supreme effort. In April 1677 Dom Pedro d'Almeida was appointed viceroy of India, and was directed to proceed to Goa and take over the administration, but very shortly afterwards to return to the rivers of Cuama to meet a force of six hundred soldiers that would leave the Tagus in five vessels in September. With these ships and men he was to restore order in East Africa, punishing the sheik of Pate first. During his absence from Goa the government there

would be carried on by a board acting with full power, so that his whole time and thought might be devoted to the duty specially assigned to him. He was to remain two years in Africa, and then place João de Sousa Freire at the head of the local government and proceed again to Goa. The board of administration there was directed to give him all the assistance possible during his absence, though he was to have no control over it. Dom Pedro carried out these instructions, and though he died before everything was satisfactorily arranged, he managed to bring the petty sheiks of the north to submission once more and to establish comparative order south of the Zambesi.

The method of conducting trade on account of the government proved a complete failure. The council at Goa commenced with debt, not only for goods purchased and vessels chartered, but for the payment of thirty thousand xerafins, or nine million reis, to each of the prospective captains of Mozambique in return for relinquishing their rights. The goods it purchased in India were often bad in quality and unsuited to the requirements of the Bantu. The persons employed as agents were careless and indifferent, the costs were great, and the returns too small to meet the salaries and other expenses. Under these circumstances in March 1680 the prince regent issued instructions that the affairs of the council were to be wound up, and that the commerce of the country south of the Zambesi was to be thrown open to all his subjects in Europe, Asia, Brazil, and Africa, upon payment of twenty per cent of the value of imports and exports as customs duties. The existing debts were to be a charge upon these duties.

When this order reached Goa a council of state was convened, and every member voted for suspending it until representations of the consequences could be made and fresh directions be given. But in February 1681 Francisco de Tavora was appointed viceroy, and was instructed to throw open the trade and to see that the Monomotapa was so treated as to preserve his friendship.

In September 1681 the new viceroy reached Goa. Soon afterwards he laid his instructions before the council, when it was decided that the prince regent's orders, issued after full deliberation and advice, must be carried out, no matter what the consequences might be. In November, therefore, a proclamation to that effect was issued, and the affairs of the board of commerce were placed in the hands of liquidators. Custom houses were speedily thereafter opened at the African ports, and every one was free to buy and to sell whatever he chose. In March 1682 Caetano de Mello de Castro was appointed governor and commander in chief of Mozambique and the Rivers, the name by which the territory south of the Zambesi and the Kilimane mouth was usually known. He was allowed a salary of eight thousand cruzados a year. With him were sent two or three hundred such soldiers as could be raised, to enable him to defend Fort São Sebastião and maintain his authority elsewhere, and he was particularly charged to see that the revenue was not defrauded by the system of unrestricted trade.

For a long time the government at Lisbon had been endeavouring to induce Portuguese men and women to settle in South Africa. In 1677 the troops that were sent out were accompanied by a few artisans and labourers, and by eight reclaimed women from a house of mercy, some of whom took up their residence at Mozambique and others on the bank of the Zambesi. After their arrival all trace of them is lost, but they can only have prospered in such pursuits as the former residents had followed. Nowhere in the world could a European labourer have been more out of place than in Portuguese South Africa, and as for mechanics, half a dozen masons and carpenters would have been too many for all the building that was to be done. There were in Goa a number of Portuguese and Eurasians sunk in the lowest depths of poverty, mere mendicants in fact, and it was under the consideration of the government to remove them to Africa to colonise the country. Common sense prevailed, however, and this most injudicious scheme was not carried out. And now

the same government that desired the increase of the European population adopted a commercial system under which the few white men in the villages and at the trading stations must be driven out.

Against all the advantages that are derivable from an Asiatic possession, one tremendous disadvantage must be set down: that its inhabitants may become entitled to privileges ruinous to their conquerors. In what remained of Portuguese Asia there were numerous mixed-breeds, and besides these a large class of Indian traders, commonly termed Canarins or Banyans. These people are among the keenest traffickers in the world, whether as merchants or as pedlars, and no white man can compete with them, as it costs them the merest trifle to live. They add nothing to the strength of a country, as they are wholly unfit to bear arms in war, and they contribute little or nothing to its revenue beyond what they pay in customs duties. They are the most dangerous of all immigrants into a territory with a warm climate, where equal rights when they are concerned can only mean the speedy removal or ruin of the European.

As soon as the commerce of South-Eastern Africa was open, the Canarins began to take part in it, and the inevitable result quickly followed. Within six years no fewer than seventeen Banyan houses of business—some of course very paltry establishments—were opened on the island of Mozambique alone, and the Portuguese trading community had dwindled to fifteen individuals. Sena and Tete were threatened with utter extinction as Portuguese villages, and the outlying stations were rapidly being lost to white men. The price of gold too had been raised by competition until there was no longer a fair profit to be gained on it.

The country was involved in other troubles as well. The prazo holders were discontented and sullen, foreseeing the loss of their means of acquiring wealth. Some of them had been obliged by the government to surrender estates obtained in an improper manner, and all of them resented recent legislation so keenly that they no longer troubled themselves

to search for gold, in consequence of which the quantity obtained was much less than formerly. Their turbulent and violent conduct was irritating the Monomotapa, and war was constantly expected. The customs dues collected were insufficient to defray the charges of the administration, paltry as these were, and no means could be devised to increase the revenue. It was indeed in contemplation to collect ivory in payment of overdue quitrent, and to levy a yearly poll tax of a matical of gold upon every native, but a little reflection showed both these schemes to be impracticable. If the prazo holder would not pay his quitrent in the normal manner he would not pay it in ivory, and as for the poll tax, the natives would certainly flee from Portuguese jurisdiction rather than submit to it.

King Pedro II took all these circumstances into consideration, and on the 20th of March 1690 issued orders that free trade in South-Eastern Africa was to cease at once. An attempt was to be made to form a Company to carry it on, and in the mean time the royal treasury would undertake it. These orders preserved the country for the Portuguese crown, but the Banyans had got a hold upon the commerce which could not be entirely destroyed until 1783, when they were expelled from the country south of the Zambesi.

Caetano de Mello de Castro was succeeded as governor and commander in chief by Dom Miguel d'Almeida, whose term of office expired in 1688. Thomé de Sousa Correa, a very diligent and upright man, followed, and to him was entrusted the task of directing the commerce on behalf of the king. This he did with such care and ability that it yielded a considerable profit above all expenses, though the villages did not fully regain their European inhabitants.

Several years elapsed before a Company could be formed with sufficient capital to undertake the trade. Some persons in India first subscribed for a number of shares, and a provisional charter was drawn up there, which was sent to Lisbon and altered by the king in council. As finally arranged, its principal clauses were: that any one in Portugal

or India could subscribe for shares; that the royal treasury was to take part in it to the value of the vessels then engaged in the commerce and of the merchandise on hand; that every viceroy during his whole term of office should be a shareholder to the extent of fifteen thousand xerafins, which sum was to be deducted from the first payment of his salary and repaid to him when received in like manner from his successor; that the management of business should be entrusted to a board of five directors to be selected in the first instance by the viceroy from the largest shareholders, and afterwards, as vacancies occurred, by the viceroy from a double list of names presented to him by the remaining directors; that the Company was to pay the same customs duties as individual traders had paid; that it was to pay yearly to the royal treasury fifty thousand cruzados towards the cost of the naval defence of India, thirty thousand cruzados, being the amount formerly paid by the captains of Mozambique for a monopoly of trade south of the Zambesi, and three thousand cruzados, being the amount formerly paid by the same official for a monopoly of the trade of the islands of Angosha; that the Company was to have an absolute monopoly of all the trade from Mombasa to Cape Correntes; that it should be entirely commercial in its character and not interfere with the different governments; and that the charter was to hold good for twelve years, with three years notice thereafter before it could be cancelled.

The chartered Company thus formed came into existence in 1697, but the amount of capital subscribed was too small to enable it to carry on the commerce of South-Eastern Africa successfully, and the obligations imposed were too heavy for it to bear, so after a feeble attempt during the next three years to maintain itself, in 1700 it was dissolved, and the trade was again undertaken by the royal treasury. Just at this time expectations of great wealth, derived from reports of the richness of the pearl fisheries and from specimens of ore sent to Lisbon, were cherished by the king and his court, so that the failure of the Company and the reversion of the trade

to the treasury were not regretted. King Pedro indeed believed for a while that the Rivers were the most valuable oversea possession in his dominions. In this strain he, the lord of Brazil, which had then already begun to pour its wealth into the mother country, wrote of them, regretting only his want of means to develop their immense resources at once; but, as on so many occasions before, high hopes regarding South African treasures were doomed to end in bitter disappointment.

The disturbed condition of the country was unfavourable to the progress of mission work, though the decadence of the ruling Bantu families made the conversion of the people more easy than before. The Jesuits were strong in Mozambique, where they had a large convent, and where they were often called upon to aid the government with advice in political and commercial matters. At one time even the superintendence of the repairs of the fortress was entrusted to them by the king, who believed that they would be more likely to see the work carried out properly than the civil or military officials. At Sena they had an establishment, and here also their services were requisitioned by the government for many purposes unconnected with religion. They were the most refined and most highly educated men of the day, so that they were naturally regarded as the most competent to give advice in all matters. Their reports are the clearest, best written, and far the most interesting documents now in existence upon the country. Compared with the ordinary state papers, they are as polished marble to unhewn stone.

In 1697 the Jesuits established a seminary at Sena for the education of the children of the Portuguese in the country and the sons of native chiefs. This institution was aided by the state, and wealthy traders and prazo holders contributed largely to its support. At Tete they had also a mission, and further several stations along the river where they were favoured by prazo holders, and could thus remain notwithstanding the claim of the Dominicans to that territory as the sphere of labour assigned to them by royal order. Though

the Jesuits were so active, they reported at a later date that their work among the Bantu at these places was almost fruitless. They had no difficulty in inducing people to call themselves Christians, but they could not persuade them to change their mode of living, to abandon polygamy, or to observe the ordinances of the church.

The order of Saint John of God had not yet sent any of its members to the Rivers, though in 1681 the hospital at Mozambique was entrusted to its care. This order was founded purposely to attend upon the sick, and its members were trained as hospital nurses are now. Previous to this date the sick sailors and soldiers at Mozambique had no other attendants than slaves, who acted under direction of the surgeons; but henceforward they were tenderly looked after. Nearly half a century later a shipwrecked Dutch traveller, named Jacob de Bucquoi, who was for several weeks an inmate of this hospital, wrote of it in terms of unbounded admiration. He said that no one, however rich, could be cared for and tended better than the sick were there, without any exception, whether they were Portuguese or strangers.

The Dominican convent at Mozambique was still the principal station of that order in South-Eastern Africa, but the country south of the Zambesi was the field in which most of its missionaries laboured. Not long after the baptism of the Monomotapa Domingos their zeal began to flag. In the time of their prosperity, as is often the case with men in other pursuits, the friars did not display the great qualities which characterised them during the period of trial. Some of them fell into habits of indolence, and others into a spirit of indifference. Clearly the introduction of foreign blood and the condition of the mother country were producing their natural effects. The ecclesiastical administrator at Mozambique, though he had not the same control over members of religious associations as over secular priests, threatened to introduce some other order, and actually proceeded to Goa with that object. There, however, he was induced by the Provincial of the Dominicans to desist from his purpose, on

condition that a commissary and visitor should be sent at once to the country south of the Zambesi, and that some active missionaries should accompany him.

Friar Francisco da Trindade was appointed commissary, and brought five associates with him. One of these, the father João de São Thomé, he stationed at Sofala, another, the father Damaso de Santa Rosa, he stationed with the Monomotapa, the third, the father Diogo de Santa Rosa, he directed to renew the work that had been abandoned at Masapa, the fourth, the father Jorge de São Thomé, he directed to do the same at Ongwe, and the fifth, the father Miguel dos Archanjos, he sent to the Kiteve country to establish a mission. The commissary was a man of great activity, and during the time that he had the oversight of the mission everything went on well. He resided first at Sena, and made himself master of the Bantu dialect spoken there, in which he prepared a catechism and another religious book termed a confessionario. He then proceeded to Tete, studied the dialect used by the clans in that part of the country, and translated his catechism into it. One of the sons of the Monomotapa came under his influence, and was baptized and trained by him. This youth was afterwards sent to Goa, where he entered the Dominican order, and became known as the friar Constantino do Rosario. In the next chapter it will be necessary to make a better acquaintance with him.

This period of activity, however, did not last long. There were energetic men of the Dominican order in South Africa at the close of the seventeenth century, but the spirit of languor in which Portugal and her foreign possessions were steeped embraced the great body of the friars also. Further many of them were Asiatics and Eurasians, and a few were Africans not half weaned from another creed, all quite unfit to carry on mission work unless under the close supervision of white men. Under these circumstances, though baptisms were numerous real converts were few. In the interminable feuds of the country stations were often destroyed, as Ongwe

and Dambarare—the latter the principal gold market at the time—were in 1692. In 1696 Sofala was attacked by a powerful clan, which was repulsed, but a large portion of the back country was closed to Europeans during the next thirty-three years, and the station at the Kiteve's kraal had to be abandoned. Without protection, without homes—much less church buildings,—the missionaries could have done very little except in the villages even if their zeal had not passed away.

It is impossible to ascertain how far westward missionaries had penetrated the country by this time, because they had no means of determining longitudes, and no descriptions of their travels are extant from which their routes can be traced. As they could not erect substantial buildings there are no ruins to mark the limits of their wanderings, and the old names of the places where they laboured are known no more. On the actual bank of the Zambesi they had reached a point as far west as the present station of Zumbo, but it is exceedingly improbable that they had got farther. About seventy miles north-east of Buluwayo, in some ruins called by the present natives Umtungala ka Mambo, which date from a time far earlier than the appearance of the Portuguese in South Africa, a few years ago a seal was found bearing the name Bernabe de Ataide encircling the symbol I H S, but it is quite as likely to have been carried there as an ornament or charm by some native as to have been lost there by the missionary who once owned it. Neither the Dominicans nor the Jesuits until our own times ever explored the country farther than they did during the seventeenth century.

At this period and later when dealing with the Portuguese in South Africa one is never certain whether he is recounting the deeds of Caucasians, of Asiatics, of Africans, or of mixed breeds, unless he can trace their origin, which is not always possible. An individual with the name of a European grandee was as likely as not to be a negro or a half-caste from Goa. Who, for instance, would recognise a son of the Kiteve under the name Dom Antonio Lançarote, who in 1681 applied to

the king for permission to remove from Goa to Africa? If deeds performed are worthy of mention they should be related, but it would be more satisfactory if the nationality of the actors could be stated as well.

Since the accession of the house of Bragança to the throne of Portugal the closest friendship with England had existed, still English ships were causing much trouble and anxiety to the authorities on the eastern coast of Africa, though the British government was in no way responsible for what was being done by them. Some of these ships were avowedly pirates, similar to those that infested West Indian waters, that plundered and scuttled vessels under every flag but their own. Their crews were composed of ruffians of every maritime nation, though the vessels were British built, and all the names of the officers that are known are English. Delagoa Bay and the ports on the coast of Madagascar afforded them convenient places for repairing, provisioning, and otherwise fitting out for cruises in search of booty. These pirates were for many years a cause of terror to navigators in the eastern seas, though they only murdered the crews of their prizes when they were apprehensive of danger to themselves should their prisoners live. Sometimes a ship left India, and was not heard of again for years. Such was the fate of the *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda*, which was captured by two pirates off the African coast, when all on board were put to death except one Malay boy who was kept as a slave. In 1682 these same pirates put into Mozambique, where one of them was wrecked, and the Malay gave information of the destruction of the Indiaman and also of a vessel bound from that island to Brazil with slaves, which had afterwards been captured. Fort São Sebastião was at the time provided with a fairly strong garrison, so the rovers were seized and sent to Goa for trial.

Another class was composed of ships that visited the coast for trading purposes in defiance of the English East India Company. They were either not provided with clearance papers from any English port, or they had papers giving

some destination beyond the limits assigned in the East India Company's charter, so that in each case they were liable to be seized wherever there was sufficient force to capture them. Except at Mozambique no such force existed on the south-eastern coast of Africa or on the shores of Madagascar, which they therefore frequented. It had been the custom for nearly a century and a half to send a pangayo occasionally from Mozambique to Inhambane and Delagoa Bay to barter ivory from the natives, and in 1685 one left for that purpose. Upon her return, Domingos Lourenço, her master, reported that at Delagoa Bay he had found five English trading vessels provided with merchandise of a better quality than his, and that they had bought all the ivory and ambergris in the surrounding country.

On the 6th of August 1686 the governor of Mozambique, Dom Miguel d'Almeida, and his council met to consider this matter. The council consisted of the lieutenant-general Francisco d'Aviles Ramires; the castellan Paschoal d'Abreu Sarmiento e Moraes, the factor João Machado Sacoto, the rector of the Jesuit college Father Manuel Freire, the vicar of the parish church Father Domingos Dias Ribeiro, and the superior of the Dominican convent Friar João da Magdalena. The governor and council unanimously resolved not to send a pangayo to Delagoa Bay that year, because most probably English ships would continue to frequent that port and she might be robbed or insulted by them, and further because there would be little or nothing to obtain in barter, as that part of the country had been thoroughly cleared of its marketable produce.

This resolution was communicated to Dom Rodrigo da Costa, governor-general of India, who overruled it, and gave directions that a pangayo should be sent to the bay again, even at a pecuniary loss, in order that the English might not take possession of it under the pretext that it was neglected by the Portuguese. Our countrymen continued to trade there, and from an account given by one of them, Robert Everard by name, it is seen that they set about their

business with characteristic energy. Everard was in Delagoa Bay in 1687, in the ship *Bauden*. They had materials ready on board, and put together a small vessel, which was sent up and down the coast to trade for ivory. At the bay itself they obtained only two tons until some chiefs went on board, whom they put in irons and detained until more was brought for sale. One day a small boat arrived with three Englishmen in her, who had formed part of the crew of a trading vessel like the one they had put together. This vessel had been wrecked on the coast, and the boat's crew had suffered greatly from hunger before they reached the bay, for when they went ashore to try to get food the natives robbed them of their clothing and would give them nothing to eat. The *Bauden* lay there at anchor three months, and then sailed for Madagascar.

In 1688 Delagoa Bay was visited and roughly surveyed by the Dutch galiot *Noord*. An English trading vessel was lying there at the time, and also a Portuguese pangayo from Mozambique. The English had put up a tent for trading purposes on one of the islands, and the Portuguese had constructed a temporary lodge for the same purpose near the mouth of the Manisa river. So matters continued until the end of the century, vessels of both nations frequenting the bay; but then the Portuguese abandoned it for many years. Their pangayo was seized when at anchor by a pirate ship that sailed in under French colours, and was plundered and destroyed, though most of her crew managed to escape to the shore. Then the effort to carry on a profitless and dangerous trade was given up, and the next century was far advanced before the Portuguese flag was again seen anywhere on the mainland south of Inhambane.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E., AND GREAT WINDMILL STREET, W.

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